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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOL. XV OCTOBER, 1932 NUMBER 2
NEW SERIES, VOL. IV

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An Historical Review

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ST. GENEVIEVE ACADEMY: MISSOURI'S FIRST SECONDARY SCHOOL

For the Catholic student of local history the village of St. Genevieve is rich in associations, political, ecclesiastical, and educational. Located on the west bank of the Mississippi about sixty miles south of St. Louis, this interesting village is the county seat of St. Genevieve County, a county which has the distinction of having a larger percentage of Catholics than any other in the State of Missouri. The population is mainly of French and German extraction. The French, of course, were the pioneers; but the Germans kept coming in gradually with the result that in many places they displaced the original colonists. For example, in the parish of Zell all the farm land has passed into the possession of Catholics of German stock. Bloomsdale, originally French, has also a large German population. The village of St. Genevieve, which today is about ninety per cent Catholic, is made up mainly of both French and German elements in nearly equal proportions. Of course there has been considerable intermarriage so that racial distinctions have become largely a matter of historical interest only.

The village of St. Genevieve claims to be the earliest permanent white settlement in the State of Missouri, but this statement needs qualification in as much as the present village is located between two and three miles from the site of the original village, *le vieux village,* which was founded in 1735, thereby ante-dating St. Louis by nearly three decades.* This old village, like the early nearby settlements on the Illinois side of the river, Cahokia, Fort Chartres, and Kaskaskia, suffered much from inundation and erosion caused by the mighty Father of

* See, however, MID-AMERICA, July, 1932, *et seq.*

Waters during his angry moods. The great exodus from *le vieux village* took place in 1785, *l'année de grands eaux,* when the inhabitants were forced to remove their village to its present site, so as to be beyond the reach of the hungry waters which destroyed almost every landmark of the earlier settlement. Even the adjoining big field, *le grand champ,* which originally contained four thousand arpents of land, has been reduced to about three thousand due to the encroachments of the great river. This big field, surrounded by a single fence, was cultivated in lots by the inhabitants and yielded a rich and varied harvest of crops, including corn, pumpkins, and spring wheat.

When the English took possession of the Illinois country in 1765, the Missouri settlements received an increase of French colonists who wished to live under a more congenial government. The rich mineral deposits of the hinterland of St. Genevieve were an additional attraction to the miners from the Illinois villages. For many years St. Genevieve was an important river port. The trade was varied in character, the exports consisting, for the most part, of the products of the mines (mainly lead and zinc ores), as well as grain, timber, furs, and salt. Lead and pelts for several years were the usual media of exchange.

The inhabitants lived successively under four different governments: as subjects of the king of France until 1762, under Spain from 1762 to 1800, under Napoleon from 1800 to 1803, when they finally came under the American flag.

The ecclesiastical history is no less interesting as one may readily learn by visiting under proper guidance the present spacious Catholic church in which the cultured taste of the scholarly pastor has found an opportunity for expression. Of special interest to the historian are the shields which bear the coats of arms of the different dioceses of which the parish of St. Genevieve was, at one time or other, an integral part.

The church records are in fine shape. The first marriage recorded took place in 1759, the name of the parish at that time being St. Joachim. The entry is in the handwriting of Father Watrin. This record, unlike subsequent ones has no lay signatures. From 1760 onwards, however, the signatures of witnesses to the marriage ceremonies reveal the fact that many of the laity were able to write, a fact of some significance to the student of educational history.

The date of the first school has not been recorded, but we

know from a book written by Henry M. Brackenridge that an elementary school was functioning in 1792.[1] This was probably the school taught by one of the Moro (or Moreau) family which Father Henri Pratte, the first native priest of Missouri, attended as a boy.

In our history textbooks the life of the French colonists gets scant courtesy. While some of them were undoubtedly poor and had to face the grim realities of pioneer life as *coureurs de bois* and as boatmen, it is often forgotten that even in the most remote settlements there were also persons of culture and refinement. There is good reason to suppose that even among those in the humbler walks of life there were not wanting in the homes many of those "imperishable amenities of French civilization," to use Miss Repplier's happy phrase, which showed that these hardy and courageous pioneers were no crude barbarians, notwithstanding the most primitive conditions in which they were placed.

In the case of the St. Genevieve community we have in the writings of Henry M. Brackenridge evidence of this fact. This earliest of Missouri authors has given an interesting and intimate picture of the home life of this French and Catholic village towards the end of the eighteenth century. Brackenridge was sent by his father, a prominent Pittsburg lawyer of scholarly tastes, to the village of St. Genevieve in the company of a St. Louis fur trader, J. B. C. Lucas, with a view to having him acquire a knowledge of the French language. Young Brackenridge had therefore the distinction of being the first American boy to be sent west of the Mississippi to be educated. He arrived in St. Genevieve in 1792 and remained there between two and three years. On his arrival at the age of six he was received into the home of a M. Beauvais and there treated as one of the family. Being strictly religious people, his hosts took no chances of having a young heretic or pagan in their home. Therefore they had the boy instructed and baptized, Monsieur and Madame Beauvais acting as sponsors. Henry was treated as a son, attended Mass and served as an altar boy for Father de St. Pierre, the pastor. Shortly after his arrival the young American was sent to school where he learned to read and spell the French language before he understood it. His progress was so rapid, however, that in a few weeks he says he had learned

[1] *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, Philadelphia, 1868.

to read and speak French and, strangely enough, before half a year had elapsed he had all but forgotten his native tongue.

He was treated kindly by the other children and joined in all their innocent games and pastimes. On Sunday afternoons he sometimes went with other children to a ball that in reality was a school of good manners. The children rich and poor were placed on a footing of equality, the only difference being "a more costly but not a cleaner or neater dress." That this early Catholic upbringing made a deep impression on the young American is evident from the tribute which he pays his foster parents when describing his feelings on the occasion of his departure after a sojourn of nearly three years. "With many tears," he says, "I left the kind people to whom I owed so much. I owed them much for the care they had taken of my person, and still more for the pains with which they had preserved the health and purity of my mind. I left them with a heart innocent and virtuous, and with impressions which, if not indelible, were sufficient to carry me a long distance through temptations of vice and folly. I was taught to reverence my parents, to respect the aged, and to speak the truth of every one. I was taught to restrain my temper, to practice self-denial, to be compassionate to man and beast, to receive without murmur or complaint what was provided for me and to be thankful to God for every blessing."[2]

The home, the church, and the social life of the village were effective educational agencies; and these were supplemented by the local elementary school. It would seem, therefore, that the community as a whole was far from being illiterate. The signatures in the Church registers show that the more important people were capable of signing their names, generally in a good legible hand. The percentage of those capable of writing is a sufficient proof that some provision was made for formal education even if we had no other evidence. It is likewise clear that some were unable either to read or write, but in respect to literacy the French compared rather favorably with their contemporaries in the American colonies as Stoddard is forced to admit. Furthermore, the same author informs us that St. Louis and St. Genevieve were among the first villages to maintain private schools.[3]

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[2] Brackenridge, op. cit., p. 27. For further information about his educational progress see the writer's article, "The Education of a Scholarly Frontiersman," *Education*, October, 1930.

[3] Major Amos Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, 1812, p. 309.

Considerable interest has always been centered in the fact that St. Genevieve has the unique distinction of having had an academy before any other settlement in Missouri took steps towards making provision for secondary education. It is not clear to whom the credit for the idea should be given, but it is certain that no one worked more consistently to establish such a school than the public-spirited pastor, Reverend James Maxwell, who succeeded Father de St. Pierre in 1796. Born in or near Dublin about 1742 and educated for the priesthood in the Irish College in Salamanca, he was assigned to the American mission field and received the appointment of Vicar General to the Bishop of Louisiana. That Father Maxwell was a very capable and lovable man is evident from the remarks of those who had the best opportunity to know him. His personal characteristics, his ability to speak Spanish, French, and English, and his training as a priest all combined to fit him admirably for a difficult task. Bishop Flaget described him as a "learned and practical Catholic priest," and Houck, the Missouri historian, styled him "a very active and enterprising man." For a more adequate account of his varied activities the reader is referred to the great work of Father John Rothensteiner. Suffice it to say here that "as a priest and educator, as a business man, and as a real force in political life Father Maxwell must be regarded as one of the founders of the Statehood of Missouri."[4]

A few years ago a casual remark of the editor of MID-AMERICA aroused the writer's interest in the history of St. Genevieve, especially in Father Maxwell's connection with its pioneer institution of learning. A survey of the published accounts revealed the fact that they were not only fragmentary but contradictory and misleading. In order to check and, if possible, to supplement the available data the writer made two visits to St. Genevieve during the summer of 1929. The first visit introduced him to Father Van Tournhout, the local pastor, who has a wealth of information about the general and ecclesiastical history of the parish of St. Genevieve. This visit helped to orient the writer and put him in contact with others who, it was thought, might be more familiar with the history of the academy. Subsequent experience, however, revealed the fact that tradition is not always a trustworthy guide. Popular

[4] *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, Ch. II, pp. 198 ff.

memory unassisted by documentary evidence proved quite unreliable and was sometimes colored by the erroneous published accounts which were accepted uncritically. This fact became increasingly evident on the occasion of the writer's second visit when, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Thomas Rozier he was enabled to examine a manuscript book of minutes of the original academy which, apparently, had never been studied by any of those who had undertaken to tell the story of the academy. The writer made a complete copy of the minutes. Since they are too long and detailed for publication here he will simply utilize the material contained therein to supplement data secured from other sources in order to furnish a brief narrative of the academy's history. The minute book supplies us with a record of certain phases of the academy's record from a short time after the project was mooted until it materialized some years later. The record begins with the first Monday of December, 1807, and ends with July 6, 1812. The minutes in the handwriting of Thomas Oliver, who later became first clerk of the Circuit court, are written in a good hand. The ink has turned brown but the writing is still legible. The paper is foolscap bond with a watermark showing the figure of Britannia with a trident enclosed in an ellipse surmounted by a crown and bearing the date 1794.

Father Maxwell was elected chairman at the first meeting and presided at every one of the twenty-four meetings recorded in the minutes. Some additional meetings were adjourned because the necessary quorum of nine members was not present. Up to and including the special meeting held May 12, 1808, the proposed academy is invariably described as the *Louisiana Academy*. Beginning with the meeting held August 4, 1808, the title *Ste. Genevieve Academy* is henceforth used. As a charter granted June 21, 1808, by the Territory of Louisiana incorporated the Academy under the title of Saint Genevieve Academy, we can readily see that the change of name in the minutes was not arbitrary.

This charter named the following "a body politic and corporate to be known as the trustees of St. Genevieve Academy": James Maxwell, Jean Baptiste Vallée, Jacques Guibourd, Saint James [St. Gemme] Beauvais, François Janis, Jean Baptiste Pratte, Joseph Pratte, Walter Fenwick, Andrew Henry, Timothy Phelps, Aaron Elliot, Nathaniel Pope, Joseph Spencer junior, John Scott, William James, Thomas Oliver, Joshua Penneman,

William Shannon, George Bullet, Henry Dodge and William Diel.[5]

It will be noted that the list of trustees included many of the most important American and French residents of Missouri at this period. Whether the initial steps towards the establishing of an academy came from the Americans is not clear. More likely it was from the first a coöperative enterprise which could not have been successful without the active support of the pastor of St. Genevieve who had the respect and confidence of both the French and American elements. Section 5 of the charter reads: "The Trustees shall be enjoined to cause at all times the English and French languages to be taught in the said academy together with such other languages and sciences as the funds of the institution and the circumstances admit." Section 6: "The trustees shall be enjoined to cause the children of poor people, and the children of Indians residing in the Territory and found qualified, to be instructed *gratis* at the said academy in any and all branches of education which they may require, whenever the funds of the institution shall in the opinion of the trustees permit these or either of these arrangements."

Section 7 contains a conscience clause which reads: "As the extension of knowledge ought to be the only object contemplated by this institution, no preference shall be given, or any discrimination be made, in the choice of trustees, professors, teachers, or students on account of religious sentiments; nor shall the trustees, professors, or teachers at any time make bye-laws, ordinances, or regulations that may interfere with, or in any manner control the rights of conscience or the free exercise of religious worship."

Though it was clearly the intention of the promoters to have a non-sectarian secondary school for boys with as little delay as possible, section 4 contains a provision for the extension of similar facilities to girls, who were to be provided for in another institution "as soon as the funds for the academy would admit of it."

The first meeting recorded in the minutes was held as early as the first Monday of December, 1807, and on this occasion Reverend James Maxwell was elected chairman, and Thomas

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[5] *Laws of the Territory of Louisiana.* Printed by Joseph Charless, St. Louis, 1808. The act was signed by Meriwether Lewis, Governor, and by John B. C. Lucas and Otho Shrader, Judges.

Oliver secretary. At a later meeting Joseph Pratte was appointed treasurer and when he resigned several months later his place was taken by Jean Baptiste Vallée. On the different committees appointed at various times both French and American names appear. The majority of the meetings were held in the home of Joseph Pratte, others being held in the presbytery of the Catholic Church at St. Genevieve and in the courthouse.

The business transacted at the meetings of the Trustees was varied in character but might be described briefly as being concerned with the following problems: the organization of the academy, a petition for a federal land grant for its support, purchasing land on which to erect a school, raising and collecting subscriptions for the purpose of building, supervising the building, and eventually hiring a teacher.

Father Maxwell in addition to presiding at all regular and special meetings served on several important committees, and in various ways helped to promote the work. For instance when some difficulty arose in regard to the title to the plot of four arpents of land chosen as a suitable site he gave a personal guarantee to secure a clear title. Likewise when subscriptions came in slowly and the workmen engaged on the building could get no pay from the empty treasury he came to their rescue. Apparently he had the full confidence of all members of the Board of Trustees, among whom it would seem perfect harmony prevailed.

There is no hint that the petition for a Federal land grant was successful, and evidently money was scarce, for when the subscriptions were not coming in promptly Pierre Levrard was appointed as collector for the town of St. Genevieve while Thomas Fenwick was to take up the collections at the mines. The collectors were to accept payment in either money or lead and were to be allowed a commission of two per cent for their trouble.

Notwithstanding the financial difficulties encountered it appears that on April 24, 1810, the building had so far progressed that the trustees felt justified in appointing a teacher. The choice fell on one Daniel Barry who was recommended "as a teacher of first class talents and respectability." In due form it was decided to appoint Mr. Barry, who undertook "to teach English, French, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Surveying, Logic, Metaphysics, Geography, History, Natural and

Moral Philosophy, agreeably to the prospectus already exhibited." It was further agreed that for the sum of $1100 for the first year he would superintend the education of forty-five students; also, with the permission of the trustees he might receive a larger number of students, on his employing an assistant when the same in the trustees' opinion might be necessary. A written agreement incorporating these terms was ordered by the Board of Trustees. Whether Mr. Barry ever entered upon his duties the minutes fail to state. But at a meeting held less than a year later, and prior to March 20, 1811, a committee was appointed to examine the qualifications of another candidate as a teacher of the academy, with the result that this candidate, a Mr. Curtis, had to be rejected not because of any charges against his moral character but because his academic qualifications were inadequate.

Apparently one of the difficulties which the Board of Trustees met was the securing of a suitable teacher; for at the meeting of January 24, 1812, it was reported that another effort had been made, when thanks to the good offices of Judge Coburn communication was established with Mr. Mann Butler, later known to fame as a pioneer historian of Kentucky.[6] On May 9, 1812, Mr. Butler appeared before the Board and submitted his courses and plans. These were accepted by the Board and ordered spread on the minutes. A copy of them was to be made out and published in the *Louisiana Gazette* for two months. This course of study the writer tried unsuccessfully to trace in the files of the *Gazette* preserved in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. That Mr. Butler actually entered on his duties of teacher is clear from an entry in the minutes of June 27, 1812, where we read: "On application the Trustees consent and do hereby give their consent that Mr. Butler the present teacher of the Academy have leave of absence to go to Kentucky for the purpose of bringing his family, at any time he may desire, his contract with the Board notwithstanding."

The last meeting recorded was that of July 6, 1812, which was concerned with the election of trustees to fill certain vacancies on the Board.

While neither the date of the opening nor of the closing of the original St. Genevieve Academy can be determined with

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[6] Mann Butler, *History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, Louisville, Ky., 1834.

certainty, we can at least fix the limits of its period of educational activity. Brackenridge on his second visit to St. Genevieve in the spring of 1810 refers to the Academy in these words: "A handsome residence has been erected of limestone, on the hill commanding an elegant prospect of the river, the American bottoms, and the hills on the other side of Kaskaskia. This building is intended as an academy, but unfortunately those gentlemen who generously undertook the work have not been fully able to succeed for want of proper support."[7]

It is clear from this statement that the building was ready for occupancy when Mr. Barry was appointed in April, 1810. The date when Mr. Butler retired could not be later than July 24, 1814, when the property passed out of the hands of the Trustees. It is rather significant that this was less than two months after the death of Father Maxwell, which occurred May 28, 1814.[8]

The Statutes and Laws of Missouri show that new charters somewhat similar to the original were granted in 1824, 1849, and 1853.

The future history of the Academy can best be traced by following the transfer of title to the building. On July 24, 1814, the property passed by deed from the original trustees into the hands of William Shannon, who in turn June 18, 1818, executed a bond or covenant with the trustees of "a new academy or seminary of learning" hereinafter to be established by law "and on failure of the legislature to incorporate an academy within the specified time to Henry Dodge, Ferdinand Rozier and others to the use of any academy to be thereafter established."[9]

It would seem that it was about this time Bishop DuBourg became interested in the academy and placed it in charge of the Brothers of the Christian schools who taught there for a short time. The Statutes of Missouri record the granting of another charter to St. Genevieve Academy December 24, 1824, but the writer has been unable to find a reference to the school's being in session again until the year 1849 when the pupils extended an invitation to Firmin Rozier to deliver a Fourth of July oration.

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[7] H. M. Brackenridge *Views of Louisiana* (written in 1810-1811 but published in Pittsburgh 1814), p. 125.

[8] Inscription in French on a slab behind the high altar of the Catholic church of St. Genevieve.

[9] MS. in possession of Thomas Rozier, St. Genevieve, Mo.

Because of its peculiar style this petition of the young patriots deserves to be quoted. It runs as follows:

St. Genevieve, June 16, 1849.

To Genl. F. Rozier.

Respected Sir:

The undersigned Students of the St. Genevieve Academy, and others, being youthful, ardent and naturally Patriotic at the approaching Memorable and Glorious 4th whose juvenile Hearts beat with Gratitude for the invaluable services you have rendered them and the Public in the great cause of Education, and feeling that the safety of our Republic, a model to the world, depends upon the education of youth and the dissemination of useful Knowledge among the People, and wishing therefore to manifest some share of that Patriotic feeling which should pervade the breast of every American Citizen have deemed it not altogether inappropriate to respectfully request you to deliver an Oration on the celebration of the 4th July, 1849.

We have the honor to be with great Respect.

Yours,

(Then follow forty-eight signatures, including several girls' names; many of the names are badly written and some of them are without capitals.)

On March 30, 1853, Firmin Rozier obtained a deed of the building from the trustees of the St. Genevieve Academy which was confirmed by the Circuit Court of St. Genevieve November 23, 1853. This was followed up, January 1st, 1854, by a deed of transfer from Henry Dodge and Ferdinand Rozier, the surviving trustees of the St. Genevieve Academy. Thus it would appear that Firmin Rozier's title was clear. These facts were brought out as a result of a question raised by Colonel Bogy, a political foe of Rozier's, and are contained in a decision rendered by John Scott, Circuit Judge of St. Genevieve District.[10]

On April 2, 1853, Firmin Rozier contracted for a two story brick addition to the original academy building, which was built the following year. When the writer visited St. Genevieve in 1929 this building was occupied by the son of Firmin Rozier, Thomas Rozier, who gave the writer full access to a wealth of materials from which a large part of this narrative is drawn.

From 1854 the academy as reorganized by Firmin Rozier appears to have been a success until 1862 when the troubles of the Civil War brought its career to an end. In the prospectus

[10] Rozier papers in possession of Thomas Rozier inspected by the writer August 13, 1929.

of 1861 Firmin A. Rozier is listed as principal and with him were associated four instructors: Albert Moffatt, A. M., mathematics and natural science; R. G. Warner, common and higher English branches; Duncan S. Donegan, penmanship and commercial branches; and Sebastian Seyasler, D. Ph., languages, music and drawing. To judge from items of expenditure contained in an account book recording purchases by the pupils, the following subjects were actually taught: French, German, bookkeeping, music, drawing, arithmetic, geometry, geography, grammar, spelling, reading, and penmanship. Then as now, prospectuses tend to give a highly colored picture of the educational facilities of an institution, whereas the reality is much more modest.

Such is the history of the sporadic but repeated attempts that were made by the citizens of St. Genevieve to provide from private resources a certain measure of secondary education for their young citizens in the days before the public high school had become a recognized institution. Apparently these promoters of secondary education were somewhat in advance of their time and the public opinion was unripe for the successful execution of their projects. It will be noticed that their efforts were directed towards providing secondary education for boys only. It might be well therefore in concluding to add a word as to the educational facilities provided for girls. For some years the daughters of the wealthier citizens were sent to neighboring convent schools, such as that established in 1823 by the Loretines at Bethlehem in Perry County, Missouri, or the Visitation Academy at Kaskaskia, which opened in 1833; but after 1837 educational facilities on the secondary level were available locally for the girls of St. Genevieve.

The village was dear to the hearts of the Sisters of Loretto, the first American religious congregation of women, because it saw the death of their holy founder, Father Charles Nerinckx (1761-1824); but circumstances prevented their establishing a foundation there until 1837. This was dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Their academy was at first conducted by Mother Odile, a daughter of the Spanish Commandant at New Bourbon, Don Pierre Carlos Delassus, assisted by seven Sisters.[11] It appears to have flourished from the first; but for some reason in 1851 the Lorettines sold their property to the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, who have successfully carried

[11] Anna C. Minogue, *Loretto Annals of the Century.*

on the good work ever since.[12] For several years the Sisters of St. Joseph, like their predecessors, confined their teaching on the secondary school level to girls only. But as there had always been difficulty in maintaining a separate school for boys the Sisters in recent years have extended the scope of their work and now have a fine coeducational high school which puts secondary education under Catholic auspices within easy reach of both sexes. This is but another but significant modern instance of the way it has been possible through the zeal and resources of religious orders to solve educational problems which taxed the ingenuity of even the most progressive and far-sighted of pioneer churchmen.

HUGH GRAHAM, PH. D.

John Carroll University
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[12] Firmin A. Rozier, *History of the Early Settlement of Mississippi Valley*, p. 127.

HENRI DE TONTY

Among the throng of explorers, fur-traders and pioneers who played their parts in the development of the Mississippi Valley, there is one man who appears at first to be modestly in the background. And yet as one reads the accounts of his contemporaries, his rôle grows more and more important. He was a man who ever stood ready to serve, whether it were his king, his friend and chief, or his Indian allies who needed his help. This was Henri de Tonty,[1] whose name is always mentioned with praise: the faithful Tonty, the loyal Tonty, the courageous Tonty.

Henri de Tonty was the son of an Italian refugee in France, Lorenzo de Tonti, who, while governor of Gaeta, had participated in Masaniello's Neapolitan revolt. The best-known facts about the elder Tonty are his share in this disastrous rebellion, and his invention of the "tontine" system of life insurance. Henri was born about the year 1650. As his father fled to France in 1647, it seems probable that he was born in France, although some writers say that he was born in Naples. The fact that he entered the French army in 1668 at the age of eighteen establishes the date of his birth.

For eight years Tonty served in the French army, on board ships of war and in the galleys. During the battle of Libisso his right hand was shot away by a hand grenade. Legler affirms that on that occasion Tonty, "with admirable nerve," amputated

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[1] There is a difference of opinion among historians as to whether "Tonty" or "Tonti" is the correct spelling of the name. The original Italian was "Tonti" and Alvord *(The Illinois Country)*, holds that it is the correct form; the autograph in Winsor *(Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. IV, p. 182) apparently ends in "y," but Alvord asserts that it ends in "i" written with a flourish. Parkman *(La Salle*, p. 161 n.) states that Tonty himself gallicized his name. Kellogg *(Early Narratives of the Northwest)*, Knight and Zeuch *(Location of the Chicago Portage Route)*, King *(Jean Baptiste Le Moyne)*, Reed *(First Great Canadian)*, Quaife *(Chicago and the Old Northwest)*, Jacks *(La Salle)*, and Gaither *(The Fatal River)* all use "Tonty." Cox *(Journeys of . . . La Salle*, vol. I, p. xvi) says "Henry de Tonty [or Tonti]." In the *Relations* of La Salle and of Tonty translated from Margry by M. B. Anderson, the "y" appears. Of the contributors to the Catholic Encyclopedia, two, Alcée Fortier and Jarvis Keiley, spell the name "Tonty"; J. W. Willis, C. N. Sloane, James Mooney, J. F. O'Shea, J. J. Shannon, J. E. Roy, use "Tonti." The latter spelling is used also by Phelps *(Louisiana)*, Gayarré *(History of Louisiana)*, Schlarman *(From Quebec to New Orleans)*, Encyclopedia Americana, Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, the *Nouveau Larousse*. "Tonti" is also the form adopted by the Library of Congress and the John Crerar Library on their printed cards.

The titles briefly cited in the footnotes will be found with full entry at the end of the article.

his own hand.[2] The lost member was replaced by a metal hand. In after years, when Tonty was living among the Indians, the weight of this hand was a great marvel and mystery to the Red Men, who considered it gifted with powerful "medicine," and nicknamed its owner *Bras de Fer* (Iron Arm). He was also sometimes called *Bras Coupé* (Cut Arm).

In the year 1677, Robert Réné Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, sailed to France from Quebec, to ask for aid in realizing his dream of a great French empire in the New World. He was introduced to Tonty by the Abbé Renaudot.[3] "It has been well said that of all that La Salle obtained on his journey to France in 1678—the support of the king, the interest of his ministers, and substantial help for the expenses of his project—none were of more worth than the allegiance of the young Italian lieutenant, whose services he secured upon this occasion. Through all the following years of danger, toil, misfortune, and calumny, Tonty was the one companion who comprehended and seconded all La Salle's far-reaching plans, and was ever his efficient and faithful supporter. Even after his superior's death, Tonty continued his efforts to carry out those plans, to rescue La Salle's memory from obloquy and to secure his . . . fame."[4]

On July 14, 1678, Tonty sailed with La Salle for New France, where he was destined to live the remainder of his life. During the two months sea voyage from Rochelle to Quebec, La Salle grew to know and appreciate the high qualities of his new lieutenant, qualities which stood the test of time and of the perils and hardships of the wilderness life. Never did Tonty fail his friend or hesitate to face privation and danger to carry out his projects. La Salle, in a letter, writes thus: "Monsieur de Tonty has all along behaved toward me in a manner so true that I cannot sufficiently express to you my joy in having him. . . . His sincerity and his good nature are well enough known to you; but perhaps you would not have believed him ready to do things for which a strong constitution, a knowledge of the country, and a free use of two arms seem absolutely necessary. However, his vigor and his address make up for everything,

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[2] Legler, *The Man with the Iron Hand*, p. 9-10. Legler gives no authority for the statement.

[3] Margry *(Relation of Henri de Tonty . . . 1684:* tr. by M. B. Anderson, p. 3) states that La Salle was introduced to Tonty by the Abbé Renaudot. Tonty's *Memoir* of 1693 (in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 286) states that the Prince de Conti sent him to La Salle.

[4] Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

and he is setting off, in a season in which the ice makes everybody afraid, to go to command a new fort."[5]

The first great task that was given to Tonty was the completion of La Salle's ship, the *Griffon*. From Quebec La Salle and Tonty had traveled to Fort Frontenac, 120 leagues from Quebec, near the present site of Kingston, Ontario. Thence they had brought their supplies and equipment for ship-building to the Falls of Conti (Niagara), arriving in January, 1679. Fort Niagara, a mere stockade, was built. On Cayuga Creek, which flowed into the Niagara River several miles above the great falls, was located the ship-yard in which the first vessel to sail Lakes Michigan, Erie and Huron came into existence.[6]

When the first bolt in the vessel had been driven, La Salle returned to Fort Frontenac leaving Tonty to finish the building of the ship. It was a supremely difficult task. Food supplies were meagre. The Seneca Indians living in the vicinity were hostile, and though partially placated by gifts, were suspicious of the activities of the white men, and frequently threatened to destroy the unfinished ship. The Frenchmen, being often cold and hungry, grumbled and threatened desertion. Legler characterizes Tonty's difficult task as "the building of a vessel in the midst of hostile Indians, several hundred miles from the nearest settlement of Frenchmen, with a half-starved and half-frozen crew."[7]

In May, 1679, the *Griffon,* named for the heraldic emblem of Count Frontenac, Governor of New France and friend and patron of La Salle, was launched on the Niagara River, and began her maiden voyage on August 7. Tonty did not sail on her at the outset of this first voyage, but embarked later at Detroit, having made the trip of 120 leagues from Niagara to Detroit in a bark canoe. La Salle had sent him thither to seek for some of his men who had gone to the Illinois country for supplies and skins and had not returned.

In August the *Griffon* entered Lake Huron and encountered a terrific gale. On the 27th "Missilimakinak" (Mackinaw) was reached. From there Tonty was sent to Sault Ste. Marie to look for deserters. In September the *Griffon* proceeded into the "Lac des Illinois" (Lake Michigan)[8] and anchored near an island in

[5] Gaither, *The Fatal River,* p. 92.
[6] Habig, "Father Gabriel de La Ribourde," MID-AMERICA, October, 1930, XIII, 109; Knight and Zeuch, *Location of the Chicago Portage Route,* p. 5.
[7] Legler, *The Man with the Iron Hand,* p. 13.

Green Bay, where the voyagers found a tribe of friendly Indians, the Potawatomi. On September 18 she was sent back to Niagara loaded with beaver skins, and was to return with supplies. She was never seen again, except possibly by Indians, and it was never known whether she sank in a gale, or was scuttled by a mutinous crew. La Salle himself believed that the pilot and crew sank her, basing his belief upon a story told him by an Indian that the pilot had been seen afterward with an Indian tribe, and presumably had been captured by savages, while making his way through the wilderness laden with the goods stolen from the *Griffon*.[9]

As to the vessel, it is now believed that the wreckage of a ship, which has been lying at Mississagi Strait on Manitoulin Island, Lake Huron, is the bulk of the ill-fated *Griffon*.[10]

When Tonty was sent to the Sault to search for deserters, he was under orders to rejoin La Salle at the mouth of the Miami (St. Joseph) River at the south end of Lake Michigan. La Salle with fourteen members of the party in four canoes followed the western shore of Lake Michigan, passing the sites of the present cities of Milwaukee and Chicago. Tonty with twenty men skirted the eastern shore of the lake. He was delayed first by the search for the deserters, and later, when thirty leagues from the rendezvous, by the failure of provisions. Leaving his men to hunt, he pushed on to the camp, where he arrived November 20, 1679, but he was immediately sent back by La Salle to bring in all the men, so that they might start for the Illinois country. On this trip he lost his canoe and all the supplies in it, so that for three days he and his men subsisted on acorns. At last they rejoined La Salle and, leaving four men at Fort Miami, which La Salle had erected while awaiting Tonty, the rest of the company set out on their further journey into the wilderness.

From the St. Joseph River the explorers portaged[11] to the Kankakee River, proceeding down the latter to its confluence with the Illinois[12] River. Provisions gave out, a not unfrequent

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[8] Lake Michigan was variously known as Lac des Illinois, Lac St. Joseph, and Lac Dauphin. Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 142.

[9] *Lettre de La Salle à La Barre, Chicagou*, 4 Juin, 1683, quoted by Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 169.

[10] Habig, "Father Gabriel de La Ribourde," MID-AMERICA, October, 1930, XIII, 110 n.

[11] The location of this portage has been found to be above the city of South Bend, in St. Joseph County, Indiana. Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

occurrence on these travels through the wilderness. In January, 1680,[13] the party reached the Great Village of the Illinois or the Kaskaskia Village, which had been visited in April, 1675, by Father Marquette and in 1677 by Father Allouez, who had erected a thirty-foot cross there, and now was to receive La Salle, Tonty, and Fathers Hennepin, Membré and de La Ribourde.[14] The Indians were all away on their winter hunt and the French, in desperate need of food, were driven to opening the caches, hoping that later they would be enabled to compensate the Indians. In fact, thirty leagues beyond the village, just below Lake Peoria, they did find the winter camp of the Indians. Being uncertain as to the reception they might get from the savages, they formed their eight canoes in a line, with La Salle's on the extreme left and Tonty's on the right. The Indians were taken by surprise and at first were suspicious of the new arrivals, but soon offered the calumet, the token of peace. An alliance was formed with these Indians, and thus, in the year 1680, was taken the first step in the confederation of Indian tribes, an essential part of La Salle's scheme of developing the Mississippi Valley.

Another important element of La Salle's project was the building of a chain of forts throughout the Mississippi Valley. Fort Frontenac or Cataroqui had been erected at the outlet of Lake Frontenac (Ontario) by Frontenac in 1673. When La Salle was made commander of this fort by Louis XIV, it was stipulated that he was to rebuild it. Accordingly he made a permanent structure of stone in the year 1676. In 1679 a blockhouse was built on the site of the later Fort Niagara, and later in the same year, while La Salle was awaiting Tonty at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, Fort Miami was erected. Next in the line of forts was Fort Crèvecoeur, built in 1680, near the

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[12] Other names for the Illinois River were the Theakiki, Seignelay, Divine, and Rivière des Macopins. Parkman, *La Salle,* p. 154.

[13] Tonty, in his *Memoir,* 1693, says January, 1679. Kellogg, *(op. cit.,* p. 289 n.) says that it probably is given according to an earlier method, that made the year begin March 1 instead of January 1.

[14] The true location of this Great Village is another controversial question. In "The Great Illinois Village: a Topographical Problem," (MID-AMERICA, October, 1931, XIV), Father Garraghan discusses the problem at considerable length, citing data gathered from documents of contemporary date. He states that Tonty, in his *Memoir* of 1693, fixes the site 30 leagues above the winter camp on Lake Peoria, and that data obtained from narratives and letters of La Salle might indicate that the village was near either Utica or Ottawa. Parkman *(La Salle,* p. 223-4) claims that the site was in the vicinity of Utica.

site of Peoria.[15] As regards the origin of the name Crèvecoeur, we may quote the remark of Campbell: "He [La Salle] called it Crèvecoeur (Brokenheart), not because he was broken-hearted, for La Salle cannot be thought of as building monuments to his lacerated feelings. It was only a bit of flattery for Louis XIV—to commemorate a victory won by the great King nine years before at a place called Crèvecoeur in the Netherlands."[16] According to some historians, Tonty had participated in the capture of Crèvecoeur in the Netherlands. The Indians called this fort Checagou.[17] Quaife *(Chicago and the Old Northwest)* and Parkman *(La Salle)* both remark that this was the first civilized habitation in the present state of Illinois.

The Illinois Indians had been brought into alliance with the French, but the suspicions of the savages were not wholly allayed. Monso, a Mascouten from Wisconsin, made a nocturnal visit to the camp, and stated to the Illinois that La Salle was in league with the dreaded foe, the Iroquois. He departed as secretly as he had come, but a friendly chief, Omawha, informed La Salle about Monso's visit. Consequently, when the brother of the head chief of the Illinois, Nicanopé, endeavored to dissuade the French from proceeding on their journey, telling dire tales of the perils they would meet, La Salle astonished him by showing that he knew of Monso's visit. The only result of this event, at the time, was the desertion of six of La Salle's men, who were already disaffected, and now took flight from the evils they thought were looming up in the future. It was at this time that an unsuccessful attempt was made to poison La Salle. In spite of all discouragements, Fort Crèvecoeur was built and the construction of another ship begun.

La Salle's anxiety about the fate of the *Griffon* decided him to return to Fort Frontenac for news. Father Louis Hennepin, Michael Ako, Accua or Accault and Antoine Auguel, known as Picard du Gay, were sent on an exploratory expedition on the

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[15] Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 26 n. Alvord locates the fort "on the south side of the river a mile from the end of the 'lake.'" Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 82. In Schlarman *(From Quebec to New Orleans*, p. 87 n.) is this statement: "Arthur Lagron ,who carefully examined the various probable sites of La Salle's fort, holds that Fort Crèvecoeur stood on a slight elevation, now the right of way of the L. E. & W. R. R., near Wesley City, then about 540 feet from the east bank of the Illinois River. Two other sites have been marked, one a mile below and the other about three miles above the one indicated by Lagron, both on top of the bluff."

[16] Campbell, *Pioneer Laymen of North America*, cited by Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 87 n.

[17] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 32.

upper Mississippi, leaving on February 29, 1680; and on the following day, March 1, La Salle, leaving Tonty in command of the fort, started off on his thousand mile overland journey, accompanied by four men, Hunant, La Violette, Collin and D'Autray.

Tonty had been left to command the fort and to finish the building of the ship, "with two or three honest men and twelve or thirteen knaves."[18] Soon after La Salle's departure he sent back two messengers from Fort Miami, with orders to Tonty to build a new fort on a great rock near the Illinois village. La Salle, while resting in this "great village," had been impressed by the natural strength of the cliff now known as Starved Rock. Its proximity to the Illinois village made it a desirable site for a fort, around which the projected confederation of Indian tribes might gather, and in fact did gather at a later date, largely due to the efforts of Tonty.

Upon the arrival of the messengers from La Salle, Tonty, taking four men, went to survey the site of the proposed new fort. A few days later he was followed by the Recollect Fathers, Gabriel de La Ribourde and Zenobe Membré, and three loyal followers, the Sieur de Boisrondet, L'Esperance, and Étienne Renault. They bore the disastrous news that the remainder of the force at Fort Crèvecoeur had mutinied, pillaged the fort, and, after writing on the hull of the unfinished ship, *"Nous sommes tous sauvages"* ("We are all savages"), had deserted. D'Autray with two canoes and nine men was *en route* to Fort Crèvecoeur from Niagara, and de La Forest with four or five men had set out from Fort Frontenac. They were met by the mutineers, told that Tonty was dead, and had turned back.

Tonty could do nothing for the present but await reinforcements. The four men who had been with him were sent after La Salle with news of the mutiny, the two Recollect Fathers took up their abode among the Indians, and Tonty with the three faithful Frenchmen lived in a cabin near the village. During the summer of 1680, which proved to be the lull before a storm, Tonty taught the Indians how to defend themselves in warfare, and endeavored in every way possible to strengthen the alliance between them and the French. Suddenly, on September 10, a Shawnee rushed into the village with the appalling news that the dreaded Iroquois were approaching. In the sub-

[18] Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 174.

sequent uproar and confusion, Tonty stood in grave danger of losing his life at the hands of the Illinois, whose earlier suspicions of the French as allies of the Iroquois were aroused. However, to quote Father Membré, the "Sieur de Tonty never lost courage."[19] He calmly stood his ground amid the howling savages, and finally persuaded them of his good faith by offering to go to the Iroquois and attempt to make peace. Accordingly he advanced toward the enemy, bearing a wampum necklace, the emblem of peace. The necklace was wantonly struck from his hand by an Iroquois brave, and trampled upon. A second savage stabbed him over the heart, but, fortunately, the blow glanced off a rib. Some of the other Indians intervened and a parley began, during which an Indian stood behind Tonty, grasping his hair, preparatory to scalping him. While the Iroquois were debating as to whether to burn him alive or free him, Tonty, although suffering from pain and weakness from loss of blood, undauntedly carried on his efforts at peace-making, warning the Iroquois against warring with the Illinois, who were "the children of the King of France." He led the Iroquois to believe that the forces of the French and of the Illinois were much greater than they actually were. This ruse was temporarily successful, but was soon exposed by a young Illinois hostage, who in his eagerness to placate the Iroquois disclosed the truth as to their numbers. Tonty was severely reproached by the Iroquois for this deception, and remarks in his *Memoir:* "I had much difficulty in getting out of the scrape."[20] However, before the Iroquois had discovered the weakness of their enemy, they had allowed Tonty to return to the Illinois, with promises of peace. Tonty did not trust them and warned the Illinois to flee. He was warmly welcomed by Fathers de La Ribourde and Membré, who hastened to tend his wounds.

Eight days later the Iroquois called Tonty and Father Membré into their council, offered them gifts and advised them to depart. Upon Tonty's inquiry as to their withdrawal, they betrayed the fact that they intended to attack the Illinois as soon as the French had withdrawn. When he heard this, Tonty daringly spurned their gifts, offending them bitterly, and was driven out of the council.

That night the French were on guard in their cabin, expect-

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[19] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle,* vol. 1, p. 113.

[20] Tonty's *Memoir,* 1693, in Kellogg, *op. cit.,* p. 293. Subsequent reference to Tonty's *Memoir,* 1693, are to this text.

ing an attack. The next day, September 18, realizing the impossibility of saving the Illinois, they decided to retire and take refuge with the Potawatomi Indians at Green Bay. "Tonty, with admirable fidelity and courage, had done all in the power of man to protect the allies of Canada against their ferocious assailants; and he thought it unwise to persist further in a course which could lead to no good, and which would probably end in the destruction of the whole party."[21]

One of the most arduous events of Tonty's career was his journey to Green Bay, after his attempt to halt the Iroquois raid. On the first day of the flight, Father de La Ribourde was killed by a band of Kickapoo Indians. While Tonty and his companions were making some necessary repairs on their canoe, the venerable Father Gabriel went apart to pray, contrary to Tonty's advice. When he did not return, Tonty went in search of him, but found only the trail of Indians. Vainly the little company waited and searched for the Father, and finally, with great reluctance, went on their way. It was several years before the good Father's fate was known, when his breviary was found among the Kickapoo by a Jesuit missionary. Tonty was criticized by Father Hennepin for "having abandoned the search too soon, admitting, however, that it would have been useless to continue it."[22]

If Tonty had marked his trail, as he would have done had he not believed La Salle dead, or if he had followed the eastern shore of Lake Michigan instead of the western, he and his companions might have escaped the terrible perils and privations which they suffered for thirty-four days. La Salle had set out to rescue Tonty, and had come down the eastern side of the lake, while Tonty had gone up the Des Plaines, or as it was then called, the Divine River, had portaged to the south branch of the Chicago River, and gone up the western shore, thereby missing La Salle and his party.

On All Saints' Day Tonty and his companions were wrecked while still thirty leagues from the Potawatomi village. They were just north of the present site of Milwaukee when this disaster occurred.[23] Their food supply failed them and they subsisted on wild garlic dug up from under the snow. Their shoes wore out, and they suffered from cold as well as hunger.

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[21] Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 217.
[22] Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 218 n.
[23] Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, p. 218.

The Sieur de Boisrondet was lost for ten days, during which, alone in the wilderness, he nearly died of starvation. On November 11 a Potawatomi village was reached, but the Indians were away and very little food could be found. While they were still searching for something to eat, Boisrondet arrived, and thinking that the rations they had painstakingly scraped together had been left for him, consumed most of them. "We had much pleasure in seeing him again," says Tonty in his *Memoir*, "and much regret to see our provisions partly consumed."[24]

The wearisome journey was resumed, and a second deserted village reached. The little company, having fortunately found a canoe, portaged to Sturgeon Creek, but meeting no Indians "they determined to go back to the Indian village to secure at least the comfort of dying by a fire."[25] They were indeed in desperate straits. Tonty was suffering from fever. Further progress was impossible. When all hope seemed gone, they were found on December 4 by two Kiskakon Ottawa, who escorted them to a Potawatomi village where they found five of their own countrymen. "Many are the tales of frontiersmen wandering through deep woods and enduring severe hardships; none surpasses in interest the record that Tonty has left us of this anabasis in the Wisconsin woods."[26]

In this village, which was situated in the present Door County, Wisconsin, Tonty spent the winter. Here lived the Indian chief Ananghisse, who said he knew only three great captains, Frontenac, La Salle, and himself. Father Membré wintered with the Jesuits at the mission of St. Francis Xavier at the end of Green Bay. In May, 1681, La Salle set out from his winter quarters at Fort Miami and proceeded to Mackinac. He reached there on Corpus Christi Day, and found his faithful friends, Tonty and Father Membré. Tonty says: "He was very glad to see us again."[27]

During the year 1681 preparations were made for that great event, the exploration of the Mississippi River to its mouth.[28]

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[24] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 295.
[25] Legler, *The Man with the Iron Hand*, p. 26.
[26] Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, p. 217.
[27] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 296.
[28] The Mississippi River had many names, some given by the Indians and others by the French explorers. Alvord (*The Illinois Country*, p. 62) states that the first transcription of the Indian name, Missipi, was made by Father Allouez. Other forms were Mescha Cebe, Metcha Sibou, Mitchi Sibi or Sipi, Mississippi. Joliet first named the river Buade, in honor of Frontenac, but later called it Colbert, after the French minister. Father

While La Salle was gathering supplies, Tonty and Father Membré went ahead to the Chicago River, where Tonty had sledges prepared on which to carry their supplies across the frozen rivers. After La Salle and the rest of the party had joined them, on January 4, 1682, they proceeded via the Chicago portage to the Des Plaines River, and down the Des Plaines to the Illinois. On February 6, they reached the mouth of the Illinois, and for the first time, Tonty beheld the great Mississippi River. La Salle had reached this point in December, 1680, when he was searching for Tonty, after the Iroquois massacre. Tonty states "The distance from Chicaou is estimated at 140 leagues."[29]

For three months the explorers voyaged down the great river. It must be borne in mind that their purpose was twofold: to find the outlet of the Mississippi, and to add more tribes to their Indian confederation. Most of the tribes they visited were friendly. Tonty was usually sent ahead as ambassador, having as much competence in handling the savages as La Salle himself. The first village mentioned in Tonty's *Memoir* is that of the Tamaroa, which was found unoccupied.

On February 24, Fort Prudhomme was built at the Third Chickasaw Bluff, near the present city of Memphis, below the mouth of the Ohio River.[30] It was named for Pierre Prudhomme, one of the party who, having been lost in the woods for ten days, was too exhausted by his wanderings to proceed and therefore was left at the fort.

In succession the Arkansas villages of Capa, Tongenga and Toriman were visited.[31] A cross was erected in the midst of the village of Capa. Sixty leagues beyond the Arkansas were the Taensa. Tonty was the first white man to visit this tribe, and he describes their manners and customs at some length in his *Memoir*. The next tribe visited by the explorers was the Natchez, and Tonty carried them the calumet. They "joined their hands, as a sign that they wished to be friends," says Tonty.[32] "I, who had but one hand, told our men to do the same thing." On Good Friday, March 27, 1682, the party left the friendly Natchez, and after traveling about twenty leagues, camped at the mouth

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Marquette named it Conception in honor of the Immaculate Conception. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans*, p. 61 n.

[29] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 297.

[30] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 297 n.

[31] Capa (Cappa, Kappa, Capaha) marked the end of the voyage of Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette in 1673.

[32] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 301.

of the Red River. Some distance farther on, they came upon the Quinipissa, who showed such hostility that the French passed by, as La Salle was desirous of avoiding open conflict with the Indians.

On the 7th of April, 1682, the voyagers reached the delta of the Mississippi, where the river was divided into three channels. La Salle, with one band of his men, explored the western channel, D'Autray with another band followed the eastern stream, and Tonty, leading a third contingent, drifted down the middle passage, until "the broad bosom of the great Gulf opened on his sight."[33]

Two days later, on April 9, a column, bearing the arms of France, and a cross were raised and Louis XIV of France acquired a vast new domain. "The fertile plains of Texas; the vast basin of the Mississippi, from its frozen northern springs to the sultry borders of the Gulf; from the woody ridges of the Alleghanies to the bare peaks of the Rocky Mountains—a region of savannahs and forests, sun-cracked deserts, and grassy prairies, watered by a thousand rivers, ravaged by a thousand warlike tribes, passed beneath the sceptre of the Sultan of Versailles."[34]

On the return trip the supply of provisions gave out and it became necessary to obtain some food from the hostile Quinipissa. Several women of the tribe were captured and held as hostages by the French, as a means of forcing the savages to supply their needs, but later, the Indians attacked the French and were repulsed. Word of this reaching the Natchez made them unfriendly to the voyagers, who had some difficulty in getting safely past them. When they reached the Taensa and the Arkansas they received a friendly welcome.

La Salle became very ill and was obliged to remain at Fort Prudhomme. Tonty was sent on to Mackinac to report the success of the expedition. Before he reached his destination he was captured by a war party of Missouri, Tamaroa and Kaskaskia Indians, and only escaped being burned alive by the intercession of the Kaskaskia. In June he reached the Chicago River, and arrived at Mackinac in July.

After La Salle had reached Mackinac in September, Tonty set out for the Illinois country to begin the building of the long-projected fort on the Rock (Starved Rock). The site of the

[33] Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 285.
[34] Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 288.

new fort was admirably adapted for defense. The Rock was 125 feet high, was inaccessible on three sides and attainable on the fourth only by a narrow winding path. In March of the year 1683 the fort was finished, and La Salle and Tonty began gathering together their Indian allies about the base of the Rock. About four thousand warriors, with their families making an assemblage of about twenty thousand, were soon settled in the vicinity of the new Fort St. Louis.[35] The supremacy of the French in the Mississippi Valley and control of the western fur trade hung upon this alliance of Indian tribes, Illinois, Miami, Mascouten, Kickapoo, Abenaki, Mohegan, Shawnee, Wea or Ouiatenons, Piankishaw, Pepikokia, Kilatica, Ouabona. La Salle and Tonty were both singularly successful in dealing with the savages.

La Salle had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, had built Forts Frontenac, Conti (Niagara), Miami, Crèvecoeur, Prudhomme and St. Louis, and had collected about the last named his Indian confederates.[36] His duties toward them were to protect them from their enemy, the Iroquois, and to supply them with merchandise. His next step was to form a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River, in order to facilitate trade with the Illinois country. In pursuance of this project, he set out for France in September, 1683, leaving Tonty in command of Fort St. Louis. Though La Salle was to return to New France, and Tonty was to remain in the Mississippi Valley, they were destined never to meet again.

At this time great changes were taking place in the government of New France. La Salle's friend and patron, Count Frontenac, had been recalled and Antoine le Febvre de La Barre was the new governor. Unfortunately for La Salle, de La Barre was inimical to his projects. He ordered La Salle to return to Quebec, and sent the Chevalier de Baugis to displace Tonty as commander of Fort St. Louis. Tonty surrendered his post to de Baugis, but remained at hand to protect La Salle's property. During the winter, he found it difficult at times to avoid friction with the new commander. In March, 1684, the Iroquois besieged the fort for six days, but were repulsed by de Baugis and Tonty.

Soon after the Iroquois raid, de La Barre ordered Tonty to

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[35] Parkman *(La Salle)* reproduces part of Franquelin's map of 1684 showing La Salle's colony.

[36] Alvord (*The Illinois Country*, p. 88) calls this "the first French fort of a permanent character in the upper country."

leave Fort St. Louis. Tonty obeyed, but by the time he reached Quebec, the condition of affairs was changed. He met de La Forest, who was the bearer of a commission of captain of foot in the French army for Tonty. La Salle had regained the favor of the king after reaching France, was furnished with means to establish his colony, and Fort St. Louis was restored to him. Tonty was reinstated as commander of the fort, and returned thither in June, 1685, where he awaited the outcome of La Salle's new venture. The Indian confederation had been weakened under the rule of de Baugis, and the Illinois and Miami were threatening hostilities. Tonty made peace between them. While in Quebec, Tonty and de La Forest had formed a company of 20,000 livres to maintain the fort.[37]

For many months no news of La Salle had reached his faithful lieutenant who, therefore, in the autumn of 1685, undertook the journey to Mackinac to get information about La Salle's whereabouts. Upon his arrival there he heard that Denonville had superseded de La Barre as governor, and that the former wished to see him, and to have Tonty's cooperation in his projected expedition against the Iroquois. Having learned that La Salle had landed with his new company of settlers on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, Tonty desired to carry aid to La Salle first and then return to assist Denonville. Accordingly, on February 16, 1686, he set out from Fort St. Louis, accompanied by thirty Frenchmen and five Indians, to make his second voyage down the Mississippi River. The mouth of the river was reached on April 9, four years to a day from La Salle's occupation of Louisiana. He found no trace of the colonists, since they had missed the mouth of the river and were on the coast some four hundred miles west of the river mouth. Canoes were sent out to skirt the coast about thirty leagues in either direction, but no sign of settlement was to be seen. Finally, Tonty reluctantly gave up hope of finding La Salle. He found that the column which had been set up on their previous journey had fallen, and re-erected it. Before returning to his post at Fort St. Louis, he wrote the following letter, which was left with the chief of the now pacified Quinipissa:

April 20, 1685 [1686]

"Sir, having found the column on which you had placed the arms of France thrown down, I caused a new one to be erected about seven leagues from the sea. All the nations have sung

[37] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 306.

the calumet. These people fear us extremely, since your attack upon their village. I close by saying that it gives me great uneasiness to be obliged to return under the misfortune of not having found you. Five canoes have examined the coast thirty leagues towards Mexico, and twenty-five leagues towards Florida."[38]

It is interesting to note that this letter remained safe in the custody of the Quinipissa for fourteen years, and then came into possession of Iberville, and served as proof that La Salle actually had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, a fact upon which considerable discredit had been cast.

Tonty suggested to his men that they return along the Atlantic coast to Menade (New York), so daring a scheme that most of the party refused, and all returned the way they had gone. The Ouma or Huma, whom Tonty characterizes as "the bravest savages of the river," as well as the Quinipissa entered into alliance with the French.[39]

In 1682 La Salle had granted a seigniory in Arkansas to Tonty. When the latter was returning after his fruitless search for La Salle, made at the very time that his chief was "ranging the prairies of Texas in a no less fruitless search of his 'fatal river,' " ten of his men asked permission to remain in the Arkansas country. Tonty acceded to their request, and with Couture as their commander, they built a stockade. Thus was established the oldest existing French settlement in the lower Mississippi Valley.[40] It was located near the Indian village of Ossotoué, Osotonoy, or Assotoué, and was variously known as Aux Arcs, Mission of St. Étienne and Arkansas Post. In 1689 Tonty gave a site for the establishment of a mission, and attempted, unsuccessfully, to arrange for a Jesuit mission.[41] In the following year, according to Tonty's *Memoir,* he made a visit to his "commercial house at Ossotoué," and again in 1698, when acting as escort to the expedition of the Seminary Mission. In 1722 La Harpe built a post on the site which Tonty had garrisoned in 1686.[42] There is now a small town about seventy miles southwest of Little Rock[43] at the location of Tonty's Arkansas Post.[44]

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[38] Tonty's *Memoir,* 1693, in Cox, *Journeys of La Salle,* I, 35-6 n.
[39] Tonty's *Memoir,* 1693, p. 308.
[40] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* p. 8, 308 n.
[41] Kellogg, *op. cit.,* p. 343 n. Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days,* p. 43. Mooney, in *Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 12, p. 592.
[42] Thwaites, *France in America,* p. 83.

As soon as Tonty returned to the Rock, he began to gather together his Indian allies for Denonville's war against the Iroquois. He gave them a dog feast, and then, leaving the Sieur de Bellefontaine in command of Fort St. Louis, he set off for Detroit, to meet his cousin, Greysolon Duluth, as also de La Durantaye, Perrot, and de La Forest, who ,like him, had gathered forces of *coureurs de bois* and Indians. These contingents captured two convoys of English traders from Albany. The combined forces joined Denonville at the mouth of the Irondequoit. On July 13, 1687, Tonty's forces, who were acting as advance guard, ran into an ambuscade and seven men were slain.

This Iroquois war was apparently barren of results. Alvord says: "The consensus of opinion among contemporaries and later historians is that . . . little advantage was won."[45] Tonty himself won golden opinions for his share in the campaign, being mentioned in Denonville's despatches with high praise. It was no mean feat to gather together some hundreds of quarrelsome savages, and to train them to cooperate with each other. "Only the experience and ability of such officers as Tonty, Duluth, Perrot and La Durantaye could control tribes so insubordinate and quarrelsome."[46]

After the close of the campaign, Tonty returned to his Illinois post. He was accompanied by his cousin Duluth as far as Detroit. From there to Mackinac he was in company with Father Gravier. On his arrival at Fort St. Louis, he found there a little band of refugees from the ill-fated Texan colony of La Salle, among them La Salle's brother, the Abbé Cavelier, Father Douay and Henri Joutel. They had reached the fort in the fall and had attempted to go on to Quebec, but were unable to proceed beyond the Chicago portage, so returned to winter at the Rock. They told no one there of La Salle's tragic death, but, on the contrary, stated that they had left him in good health. As early in the spring as possible, they left and did not disclose the truth until they reached France. Whatever their motives

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[43] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 4, p. 105.

[44] This post is mentioned in Alvord (*Illinois Country*, p. 109); Cox (*Journeys of La Salle*, vol. 1, p. 139); Cuming (*Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country, 1807-1809;* Thwaites (*Early Western Travels*, vol. 4, p. 105, 298); Nuttall (*Travels into the Arkansa Territory, 1819*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 13, p. 111). Winsor (*Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. 5, p. 82) gives a map showing the French post on the Arkansas River.

[45] Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 95.

[46] Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, p. 235.

for this deception of Tonty may have been, one result was that no attempt to rescue the little company stranded on the Texas coast was made until it was too late to save them. Tonty, in his joy at the news that La Salle was living, had treated them well and sent them away with 4,000 livres worth of La Salle's goods. When the true story of La Salle's fate was brought to him by Couture, who came up from the Arkansas post in September, 1688, he realized what deceit had been practiced on him. Mingled with his natural indignation was sorrowful concern for the little colony left in such jeopardy, and he determined to make a third expedition down the Mississippi[47] to find and succor it, if possible. Another motive for this journey was the idea of carrying out one of La Salle's plans, the invasion of Mexico. As war had been declared by France against Spain, Tonty thought that he might, with a few Frenchmen, gather a war-party from among his savage allies, and attack the Spanish settlements.

On December 3, 1688, he set off on his toilsome journey, accompanied by five Frenchmen and three Indians. Always with the idea of strengthening his Indian confederation in his mind, he visited many Indian tribes on his way down the river, the Capa, Tongenga, Toriman, Ossotoué, where his "commercial house"[48] was, Taensa, Nachicoche, Yataché and Naché. When he reached the Cadodaquis village, he was told that in the village of the Nauoadiche, about eighty leagues away, there were some Frenchmen, and he determined to seek them. Four of his French companions and two of the Indians refused to proceed, but undaunted he pressed on with only two followers, one French and one Indian. When they reached the Naouadiche village, there were no French there. He questioned the Indians and received conflicting answers. Finally he charged them with having slain the French, upon which the Indian women began to cry, confirming him in his suspicions. He refused the calumet which the Indians had offered him. He was reluctant to return without achieving the purpose of his journey, but lack of ammunition and the refusal of the Indians to supply guides made it impossible to proceed. The return trip was a succession of hardships. It rained incessantly, and the country was so flooded

[47] The site of La Salle's Texan colony was on the Garcitas River in Victoria County, Texas. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 317 n.

[48] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 313.

that there was no dry land to be found. Tonty in his *Memoir* describes their journey. "We crossed fifty leagues of flooded country. The water, where it was least deep, reached half-way up the leg; and in all this tract we found only one little island of dry land, where we killed a bear and dried its flesh. It would be difficult to give an idea of the trouble we had to get out of this miserable country, where it rained night and day. We were obliged to sleep on the trunks of two great trees, [to make] rafts on entering every new field, to eat our dogs, and to carry our baggage across large tracts covered with reeds. In short, I never suffered so much in my life as in this journey to the Mississipy, which we reached on the 11th of July."[49] The trip to Green Bay in 1680, with all its sufferings, apparently seemed less terrible to Tonty than this journey from the Red River. The Coroa Indians were visited and Tonty says "received me very well, and were concerned at the troubles we had had, for during the week they did not cease to make good cheer for us."[50] An attack of fever delayed him at the Arkansas villages, and it was not until September, 1690, that he finally reached the Rock once more.

La Salle was dead and his colony in Texas was annihilated, but from his headquarters at Fort St. Louis, his trusty friend and lieutenant carried on, as far as possible, the plans of his dead chief. At the request of de La Forest, he and Tonty were granted the concession of Fort St. Louis under the same conditions of trade monopoly that had been allowed La Salle. Tonty traded as far north as Assiniboia, until a royal order prohibited fur trading by white men west of Montreal. When the ordinance of 1696, prohibiting trade in the wilderness, was enacted, Tonty and de La Forest were exempted; but, as they were allowed only two canoe loads and twelve men annually, they could make no profit.

In 1691-2 the Kaskaskia had moved from the vicinity of Fort St. Louis to a site about a mile and a half from the lower outlet of Lake Peoria. Here Tonty erected a substantial fort, named Fort Pimitoui, and about it formed the first permanent village in the Illinois, now Peoria.[51] About this same time Tonty and de La Forest strengthened a former fort at Chicago. The

[49] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 321.

[50] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 321.

[51] "The building of this second fort has hitherto been unknown even to local historians, who have been puzzled by remains of a fort on the east side of Peoria." Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 100.

story of Tonty is thus linked up with the early history of Chicago. He had first visited the site in 1680 on the way to Green Bay, and again in 1681 when he and Father Membré led the vanguard of La Salle's forces on the way to the Mississippi River. In his *Memoir* he mentions arriving at the "Fort of Chicacou" in 1686.[52] He passed through again in 1698, when acting as escort for the priests of the Seminary mission, and the whole party were the guests of the Jesuits at the Mission of the Guardian Angel, which had been established by Father Pinet about 1696.

In the year 1698 when Tonty was bringing from Montreal the two canoe loads allowed him annually, he escorted a party of Seminary priests who were bound for the Arkansas country to establish missions in the lower Mississippi Valley. One of the priests, St. Cosme, in his journal of this trip, spoke with great praise of Tonty: "I cannot sufficiently express, my lord, the obligations we owe him [Tonty]. He conducted us to the Acansças; he procured us much pleasure during the voyage; he greatly facilitated our passage through many nations. . . . He not only did his duty as a brave man but he also performed those of a zealous missionary, entering into all our views, exhorting the savages everywhere to pray and to listen to the missionaries. He . . . supported by his example the devotional exercises that the journey allowed us to perform and frequently attended the sacraments. . . . We were deeply grieved to have to part from Monsieur de Tonty. . . . He is the man who best knows these regions; he has twice gone down to the sea; he has been far inland to the most remote tribes, and is beloved and feared everywhere."[53]

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[52] Tonty's *Memoir*, 1693, p. 307. There is much controversy as to the existence of a fort at Chicago at this time. There are letters extant dated at Chicago at this period, two written by La Salle in 1683, in which he mentions a log-house built by two of his men apparently at Starved Rock, and three written by missionaries in 1699. Franquelin's map of 1688 shows Fort Chicagou on the site of the present city. In an unpublished memoir Tonty's nephew [or cousin] Desliettes, speaks of residing at Chicago four years, about 1698-1702. A joint report of Frontenac and Champigny indicates that Desliettes was in command of a fort at Chicago prior to 1698. Cadillac in an undated account of western posts includes Post Chicagou. Father Garraghan in "Chicago under French Régime" remarks: "Anyone who works among the surviving records of that remote period must be impressed with the casualness with which Chicago, in a form orthographically almost identical with the current spelling of the name, is referred to as a perfectly well-known and familiar place" (*Trans.* Ill. Hist. Soc., 1930, p. 197). The reader interested in this discussion is referred to the following: Alvord, *The Illinois Country;* Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest;* Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago; Chicago under the French*

In 1700 Tonty was rejoiced by the news of a new colony being established at the mouth of the Mississippi River. He had urged this measure as a means of facilitating trade and also of preventing the entrance of the English into the Mississippi Valley, but in spite of his many years of faithful service to France, he had no influence at court. Now D'Iberville had sailed up through the delta of the Mississippi, had found Tonty's letter to La Salle written fourteen years before, and was engaged in building Fort Maurepas at Biloxi. Tonty immediately started down the Mississippi. He was heartily welcomed by D'Iberville and his brother, Bienville, and for the next four years, spent much of his time co-operating with them. He accompanied them in an exploratory voyage on the Red River, afterward returning to the Illinois country to work among the Indians, and especially to guard against contact of the Indians with the English. In 1702 Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock was abandoned by Royal Order. In the same year Tonty was sent by D'Iberville as ambassador to the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, and later he escorted several chiefs and warriors from those tribes to a conference with D'Iberville. With St. Denis he shared the command of Bienville's punitive expedition against the Alabamas.

In the year 1704 a ship arrived at Biloxi, bearing the scourge of yellow fever. Tonty, who was there at that time, was one of the victims. Phelps says:[54] "The greatest loss of all was that of the brave and good Tonti, who happened to be then visiting the fort on the Mobile. No pioneer of France had a record more full of heroism and work than his, and yet had so modestly effaced himself from publicity or kept so absolutely clear from the intrigues which disfigure every career, even the most brilliant. Thus it is perhaps fitting that this simple yet great and noble-hearted man should lie almost forgotten in an unknown grave."[55]

Tonty was not only brave, honorable and loyal: he was also shrewd and far-seeing. He appreciated the value of the natural resources of the Mississippi Valley, agricultural and mineral, as his *Memoirs* show.[56] For his map of 1688, Franquelin ob-

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Régime (*Trans.* Ill. Hist. Soc., 1930).

[53] *Voyage of St. Cosme.* Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* p. 343, 360.

[54] Phelps, *Louisiana,* p. 49.

[55] Cox (*Journeys of La Salle,* vol. 1, p. 62) states that Tonty's grave has been found in Alabama.

[56] Tonty wrote two *Memoirs,* one covering the years 1678-1683, and one covering the period 1678-1691 and sent to Pontchartrain in 1693. The

tained data from Tonty and Duluth. This map has been called "the most complete map of New France issued in the seventeenth century."[57] Winsor cites Harrisse as stating that Tonty himself made a sketch map of the Mississippi and its affluents, which is preserved in the French archives.[58] It was because of Tonty's extensive knowledge of the country and of the Indian tribes that he was called before Bishop Laval to give evidence as to missions among the savages, and it was due to his statements that the Seminary Mission sent Fathers Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme to the Arkansas country. Tonty's relations with the Jesuits in earlier years had apparently been free from the animus held against that order by La Salle. Alvord remarks: "Unlike La Salle, Tonti possessed the art of conciliating people, and even the Jesuit fathers, including Father Allouez, so often suspected of intrigue by La Salle, lived at peace with him."[59] However, in the matter of the Seminary mission to the Tamaroa, involving as it did the question of the jurisdiction of the Jesuits over the tribes then to be placed under the care of the Seminarists, Tonty favored the latter.[60]

The character of Tonty has been appraised by Francis Parkman and Jared Sparks, with whose words we may close this sketch. Parkman says: "There are very few names in French-American history mentioned with such unanimity as that of Henri de Tonty. Hennepin finds some fault with him; but his censure is commendation."[61] "All the facts that can be ascertained concerning De Tonty," writes Sparks, "are such as give a highly favorable impression of his character, both as an officer and a man. His constancy and his steady devotion to La Salle are marked not only by a strict obedience to orders, but by a faithful friendship exhibited in his intercourse with the Indians, as well in war as in peace; but his acts were performed where there were few to observe and fewer to record them. Hence it is that historians have done him but partial justice."[62]

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second memoir was the basis of a spurious account entitled, *Dernières Découvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de Monsieur de la Salle par Chevalier de Tonti.* Tonty disowned the authorship of this latter account.

[57] Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin,* p. 236-7.

[58] Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* IV, 239 n. This is apparently the map found by G. J. Garraghan, S. J., in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, and published in *Thought,* September, 1926, I, 96.

[59] Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* p. 99.

[60] Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.,* Oct. 1928, XI, 102-3.

[61] Parkman, *La Salle,* p. 441 n.

[62] Cited in Cox, *Journeys of La Salle,* I, 61.

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VARIA

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL MARKERS IN MICHIGAN

The spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine* for 1931 is devoted largely to the preliminary survey of "Historical Markers and Memorials in Michigan," which has been conducted by the Michigan Historical Commission. The data collected have been arranged and edited by Percy H. Andrus. The arrangement is by counties, sixty-two of the eighty-three counties in the State being represented by historical markers. Under each marker is given its physical description, the inscription on it, the nature of the event commemorated, the name of the donor, and the location of the monument. The expense of erecting these markers has been borne largely by patriotic organizations or individuals, by corporations upon whose premises the markers have been placed, or in many cases by the State of Michigan. As the act of the Legislature authorizing the State to incur this expense might well be studied by legislators in states that have as yet no such a law, its wording is here given. "The board of supervisors of any county in the State is hereby authorized to appropriate any sum not exceeding two hundred dollars in any one year for the purpose of marking historical places in their respective counties and for the erection of monuments or other memorials in commemoration of notable events connected with such counties." (Passed May 10, 1917.) A list of the states which have already marked historic sites within their borders is to be found in the March, 1930, issue of *Minnesota History*.

The historical markers in Michigan commemorate explorers, early settlers and the points at which they entered the State, missionaries and missions, forts, Indian trails or the seats of Indian tribes, roads of the Colonial period, and the like, as well as the services of local units in the wars of the United States. Following is a transcript of the description and location of memorials of Catholic explorers, missions and missionaries, as well as of early forts. The material so carefully gathered by the Historical Commission is here copied from the *Michigan History Magazine* by permission of the Commission.

Berrien County

A huge native boulder marks the site of Fort St. Joseph (cut given) built by the French as a mission and trading post. This

fort, because of its early French and Indian associations, and because it is the only Michigan fort over which have floated the flags of four nations, is one of the best known forts in the State. This marker is located one mile south of Niles, west of U. S. 31. Erected and dedicated by the Fort St. Joseph Historical Society on July 5, 1913. It bears the following inscription: "Fort St. Joseph 1697-1781. France, Spain, England, United States."

A granite marker in the shape of a cross (cut given), together with bronze tablet, near the city limits of Niles, one-fourth mile west of U. S. 31 and about 300 feet north of the Fort St. Joseph marker. Inscription: "To the memory of Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., whose intrepid courage won the admiration of the Indians and whose apostolic zeal earned for him the title of 'The Francis Xavier' of the American missions. Father Allouez was born at St. Didier, France, 1622, and died near this spot Aug. 27, 1689. Erected by the Woman's Progressive League of Niles, Mich., 1918."

Boulder with bronze tablet on Lake Blvd., at corner of Broad St., St. Joseph. Inscription: "This glacial boulder, found in the bed of the Saint Joseph River, was erected in 1902 by the Algonquin Chapter, Daughters American Revolution to commemorate the landing of Robert Cavelier Sieur De La Salle and building on this point Fort Miamis 1679."

Cass County

Marble cross in Cemetery, 6 miles northwest of Dowagiac on the bank of Priest and Long Lake. Dedicated by Rt. Rev. Bishop Kelley and financed by public donations. Dedicated to the memory of Rev. L. Baroux, Catholic missionary to the Indians. Near this monument is a large wooden cross similar in shape. Inscription on marble cross: "Rev. L. Baroux, Indian missionary. Born at St. Michael, France, March 25, 1817. Died Sept. 14, 1897."

Chippewa County

Obelisk with four bronze tablets, foot of Bingham Ave., Brady Park, Sault Ste. Marie. Inscription: "Beside these Rapids, June 14, 1671, Daumont de Lusson, Nicolas Perrot, Louis Joliet and Fathers Dablon,* Druillettes, Allouez and André claimed possession of all the lands from the seas of the north and west to the south sea for Louis XIV of France." [Later events and persons are then mentioned.]

* The text here reads Bablon through some oversight.

Boulder with bronze tablet, corner Park Place and River Drive, Sault Ste. Marie. Inscription: "This marks the site of Fort Chevalier de Repentigny, erected 1750, surrendered to British 1762. Burned by Indians Dec. 28, 1762. Chevalier de Repentigny, always a French officer, ally of the United States during the Revolution. Erected by the Chippewa Historical Society, City of Sault Ste. Marie, Chamber of Commerce, Daughters of American Revolution, 1930."

Large granite boulder with bronze tablet, west of Federal Building on Bingham Ave., Sault Ste. Marie. Erected by the Catholic Women's Reading Club in 1924. Inscription: "In memory of the first Mission Church—the first building erected in the north country on or near this spot by Father James Marquette, S. J., year 1668."

Emmet County

Bronze tablet on pyramid of cobble stones on U. S. 31, near State Park, Mackinaw City. Erected by the State of Michigan. Inscription: "On this site was situated Fort Michilimackinac. Site became known as Old Mackinaw after removal of fort to Mackinac Island 1781. Indian name of site was Pee-quot-e-nonge, meaning headland or bluff. Fort transferred to this site from spot near St. Ignace sometime after 1712. Held by the French until 1760. Garrisoned by the English 1761 under Captain George Etherington as part of conspiracy of Pontiac against the English on June 4, 1763. The Ojibway Indians under Chief Minavavana captured the Fort and massacred nearly the entire garrison."

Kent County

Bronze tablet on Metropolitan Bldg. on southeast corner Monroe Ave. and Ottawa Ave., Grand Rapids. Inscription: "To the memory of the Reverend Father Frederick Baraga, missionary to the Indians of Grand River Valley 1833-1853, and the Rev. Fr. Andreas Viszaczvy, priest of St. Andrew's Parish 1835-1853. On this site stood the frame house used as a church. Destroyed by fire January 14, 1850, at which time two lives were lost and the church records burned. Also site of the first Parish Church of St. Andrew until 1894."

Mackinac County

Monument with bronze tablet, Arch Rock, Mackinac Island. Inscription: "Nicolet Watch Tower in honor of John Nicolet

who in 1634 passed through the Straits of Mackinac in a birch-bark canoe and was the first white man to enter Michigan and the Old Northwest. Erected on behalf of the State of Michigan by the Michigan Historical Commission and the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, 1915."

White sandstone shaft on marble base (cut given) with bronze tablet. State and McCann Sts., St. Ignace. Inscription: "In memory of Rev. Father James Marquette, S. J., who died the eighteenth day of May 1675 at the age of thirty-eight, and was buried in this grave A. D. 1677. R. I. P. This monument was raised by the citizens of St. Ignace, A. D. 1882." On Aug. 3, 1930, the Jesuits of the University of Detroit dedicated a stone enclosure marking site of Fr. Marquette's chapel. This is enclosed with 16 granite pillars linked with chains. The grave and monument are within this enclosure.

Marquette County

Monument supporting bronze statue of Fr. Marquette, Lakeside Park, S. Front St., Marquette. Erected by the citizens of Marquette and unveiled July 15, 1897. Inscription: "James Marquette, intrepid explorer."

Mason County

Boulder with bronze tablet, about 3 miles from U. S. 31, over township road, opposite Pere Marquette Lake, Ludington. Dedicated Aug. 7, 1921. Inscription: "This boulder marks the traditional location of the death of Pere Marquette, revered and loved by the red men. James Marquette, S. J., noted French missionary and explorer. The first white man to reach these shores. 1637-1675. Tribute of Ludington Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution."

Menominee County

Bronze tablet on end of the Inter-State Bridge, Menominee. Erected by the Menominee Chapter, D. A. R., in 1917. Inscription: "This tablet marks the landing place of Father Allouez."

Monroe County

Monument with bronze tablet, corner of Elm Ave. and Monroe St., Monroe. This memorial marks the site of the oldest church in Monroe and second oldest organized church in the State. Inscription: "Centennial Act. 15, 1788-Oct. 15, 1888. Centennial of founding of parish on this site." [This tablet also bears the

names of the priests who were instrumental in its being erected and the names of many donors.]

Muskegon County

Square pillar made of brick with bronze tablet, entrance to Pere Marquette Park, Muskegon. Erected by the city of Muskegon, Aug. 3, 1927. Inscription: "Pere Marquette Park. In memory of Fr. Marquette, missionary, explorer, 1637-1675."

St. Clair County

Granite boulder, Port Huron. Inscription: "On this site stood Fort Gratiot built 1815 by Capt. Charles Gratiot, abandoned 1879. Erected by Ottawa Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914."

St. Joseph County

White marble cross on granite base, Catholic cemetery, one block north from M-60, Mendon. Inscription: "Patrick Marantette, 1807-1878. Francisca, his wife, 1813-1904."

Granite boulder on bank of St. Joseph River, "at the Ford of the Gray Robe," near Mendon. Erected by the Mendon Woman's Club on the site of the old Marantette home on the St. Joseph River where tradition says Father Hennepin landed in 1679 and preached to the Indians. No inscription.

Wayne County

Bronze tablet, on front of Art Museum, E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit. Inscription: "To Madame de la Motte Cadillac, the first white woman to land upon these shores. By the women of Detroit—1703—May 1903."

Bronze tablet, southwest corner Randolph and Larned Sts., Detroit. Erected by the J. L. Hudson Co., Detroit. Inscription: "This tablet marks the site of the first hospital in Michigan, St. Vincent's Hospital. A huge log house formerly stood on this corner. It was opened for the treatment of the sick by four Sisters of Charity, on June 9, 1845. And was instrumental in the prevention of the annual ravages of many of the dreaded diseases of that period. Presented to the city of Detroit in the month of September, 1926."

Marble chair, Cadillac Square, 2 blocks west of County Bldg., Detroit. Inscription: "1701-1901. This chair erected July 24th, 1901, is located on the site of the City Hall erected in 1835 and occupied until 1871 as the seat of civic authority. It is symbolic

of the seigneurial rule of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Knight of St. Louis, who with his company of colonists arrived at Detroit July 24th, 1701. On that day, under the patronage of Louis XIV, and protected by the flag of France, the city of Detroit, then called Fort Pontchartrain, was founded."

Bronze tablet, on Post Office Bldg., Fort St., Detroit. Inscription: "1796-1896. This tablet designates the site of an English fort erected in 1778 by Major R. B. Lernoult, as a defense against the Americans. It was subsequently called Fort Shelby, in honor of Governor Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, and was demolished in 1826. The evacuation of this fort by the British at 12 o'clock noon, July 11, 1796, was the closing act of the War of Independence. On that day the American flag was for the first time raised over this soil, all of what was then known as the Western Territory becoming at that time part of the Federal Union."

Bronze tablet, on Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Co. Bldg., corner Griswold St. and Jefferson Ave., Detroit. Inscription: "This tablet designates the site of one of the gateways of Fort Detroit. The original stockade was known as Fort Pontchartrain and was erected when the city was founded in 1701. Through the gateway here located, Pontiac, the Ottawa Chief, with a band of Indians passed on May Seventh, 1763, intending to surprise and massacre the garrison. The exposure of his plot on the previous day caused the defeat of his plans and gave the English the supremacy in this region until the close of the Revolutionary War."

Monument, Washington Blvd. Park, from Michigan Ave. to Park Ave., north end of Park, Detroit. Inscription: "Christopher Columbus, a great son of Italy. Born 1435—Died 1506. Discovered America October 12, 1492. This monument is dedicated to his honor by the Italians of Detroit, October 12, 1910."

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

AN ASPECT OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TRUST FOR MASSES IN ILLINOIS

A trust for masses is generally held to be a charitable trust. But in some states a trust for masses has been held to be non-charitable. The law has drawn a line of demarcation between private and charitable trusts and a trust valid under one view will be void under another. As there is a diversity of opinion

on the proper category of a trust for masses it is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between the charitable and private trusts in considering the case of first impression on this question in Illinois. The private trust normally concerns only certain definite individuals or families. The charitable trust relates to the common good and may be perpetual whereas the private trust is for a limited period and fails if perpetual. If a person attempts to create a trust for his "friends," the indefiniteness of the intended beneficiaries precludes the trust from arising. But the same result does not follow if a person creates a trust for masses for the souls of his friends. The indefiniteness fatal to the private trust is no bar to the charitable trust, unless it relates to the subject matter of the trust. Thus, neither a private nor charitable trust would be sustained if a settlor left a "small part of his estate" to his brother and a "small part of his estate" for masses for the poor souls.

The form of expression used invariably plays an important roll in the decision of the court. If the trust is for masses "for the soul of the testator," it will generally be upheld as a charitable trust. But in a case decided in 1913 in Indiana (Ackerman v. Fichter, 179 Ind. 392, 101 N. E. 493) the court in discussing the mass said, "It is common, and public to all, as a religious or pious use, and is a public charity, as distinguished from a private charity, *which it might be if restricted to masses for the souls of designated persons.*"[1] In an Alabama case in 1894 (Festorazzi v. St. Joseph's Catholic Church of Mobile, 104 Ala. 327, 18 So. 394) the court interpreting a trust for masses for the soul of the testator held that no charitable trust arose as the masses had been limited to the soul of a particular individual. The same court stated that a trust for masses is not a valid private trust as the beneficiary was not living and there was no living person capable of enforcing the trustee to fulfill the intention of the settlor. Even in states where an unorthodox view of a trust for masses does not prevail it often happens that the intended trust fails because of the freedom of choice in the trustee. Thus, a trust for masses would fail if it provided that $5000.00 was bequeathed to the trustees "for masses or other purposes as the trustee should see fit."

Before considering the historical development in Illinois some aspects of the law of England should be noted. In 1547 the

[1] Italicized by the present writer.

Chantries Act was enacted. Acts of Uniformity were passed in 1549 and 1559, providing that the saying of mass was illegal. In 1581 (23 Eliz.) the celebration of the mass was declared a penal offence. In 1601 the Statute of Charitable Uses (43 Eliz.) restated the scope of charitable uses, but studiously avoided to mention religion except for stating that uses for the repair of churches were charitable. The Catholic Relief Acts of 1791 and 1829 and the Catholic Charities Acts of 1832 and 1860 sought to remove the rigors of the shameful legislation of the past. Nevertheless until 1919 in England a trust for masses was void as a gift to a superstitious use.

The common law of England in so far as it was applicable and of a general nature was recognized in Illinois. The Constitution of Illinois of 1818 stated "That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience." The courts naturally upheld religious or charitable trusts accordingly. Although there were various forms of religious or charitable trusts presented to the courts of Illinois it was not until 1898 that the trust for masses was brought before the Supreme Court for the purpose of sustaining its validity. In the principal case (Hoeffer v. Clogan, 171 Ill. 462) the testator provided in his will that the Holy Family Church on West Twelfth Street in Chicago, was trustee of specific real estate of his for the purpose of selling the property and extending the proceeds for masses for the souls of the testator, his deceased wife, his mother-in-law, and brother-in-law. A clause in the will stated that another $1000.00 was left in trust for masses for the souls of the testator and his father, mother, and brother. The will was contested on the ground that the trusts for masses were void. It was contended that the trust was a private trust for the souls of particular individuals and lacked living beneficiaries capable of compelling the trustee to execute the trust. Furthermore it was claimed that the Holy Family Church was not a competent trustee and incapable of taking title to the property. The lower court was influenced by these arguments and held that the trust for masses in this case was invalid. On appeal to the Supreme Court the decision of the lower court was properly reversed. The Supreme Court interpreted a trust for masses as a charitable trust and not a private trust. The court pointed out that a trust never fails for the want of a trustee and in lieu of the Holy Family Church being an incompetent trustee on account of being an

unincorporated religious society, the court would appoint a trustee to take the gift and apply it to the purposes of the trust.

As the question stands in Illinois a trust for masses is considered a charitable trust and this classification primarily rests upon the English Statute of Charitable Uses of 1601, which was recognized as a part of the common law of Illinois. As a Court of Chancery under its original jurisdiction had a general power to enforce all conscionable trusts, private and charitable, it would seem expedient as a matter of principle and policy to recognize that the enforcement of a trust for masses historically rests upon the inherent powers of a Court of Chancery and not upon the English Statute of Charitable Uses of 1601.

JOHN W. CURRAN

De Paul University
Chicago, Ill.

A PROSPECTUS OF THE FIRST CATHOLIC GIRLS' ACADEMY IN ILLINOIS

The following prospectus is of interest because of the light it throws on the educational facilities available for Catholic young ladies in southern Illinois amid the pioneer conditions which prevailed a century ago. It was published as an advertisement at least as early as September 20, 1833 in the historic Catholic weekly of St. Louis, *The Shepherd of the Valley*. It also appeared regularly in several subsequent issues. Because it supplies a somewhat detailed account of curricular offers and costs of tuition in the instruction as well as hints concerning its internal organization, the writer has made a verbatim copy of the prospectus as it appears in an incomplete file of *The Shepherd of the Valley* preserved in St. Louis University Library.

It may be noted here that the Visitation Order would appear to have been the second order of nuns to establish schools within the limits of the present United States. They arrived in 1799 but were preceded by the Ursulines some seventy years earlier. The Kaskaskia convent was founded from the Georgetown house. It was established in 1833. For nearly eleven years the convent prospered in this early French settlement and the Academy became one of the most popular schools in the Middle West. Its existence as an Illinois educational institution was brought to a sudden, and almost tragic end by the great

flood of the Mississippi in the latter part of June, 1844. The whole town was flooded and the lives of the nuns and their pupils were in imminent danger when on June 22 Amedée Menard arrived with a flat boat propelled by stout oarsmen. Mother Isabella with a number of nuns and their pupils were taken aboard and brought in safety to the Menard residence. Next day the rest of the nuns had to withdraw to the bluffs. After residing for two days at the Menard mansion the nuns and their pupils were taken off in a steamboat to St. Louis. The subsequent history of the Visitandines and their school belongs to the City and Archdiocese of St. Louis and to the State of Missouri.

HUGH GRAHAM

John Carroll University
Cleveland, Ohio

Prospectus of the Ladies'
Academy of the
"Order of the Visitation of the B. V. Mary"
(A Branch of the Motherhouse at Georgetown D. C.)
Kaskaskia, Illinois

The course of instruction comprises Orthography, Reading, Writing, Grammar, English Composition, Arithmetic, Sacred and Profane History, Ancient and Modern Chronology, Mythology, Rhetoric, Poetic Composition, Geography, Astronomy, the use of maps and globes, Botany, Chemistry, and the French language; also music on the Harp, Piano Forte, and Guitar; Vocal music, Painting in water colors, Painting on velvet, plain and ornamental needlework, Tapestry, Lacework, Embroidery on Bobbinet, Bead work etc. etc.

The ladies charged with the management of the Academy will be vigilant in exact compliance with the rules of the Institution and the forms of polite deportment.

RULES:

There will be no interference with the religion of the children.

The letters written by, or addressed to the young ladies must be examined by the Directress.

Wednesday and Saturday evenings of each week allotted to recreation.

The young ladies are permitted to pay visits the first of every month, with their parents or guardians, but with no other persons; they must, however, be returned to the Institution before 5 o'clock P. M. the same day, unless special permission grounded on strong motives be obtained from the Directress.

The annual vacation commences on the last Thursday of July—the examination of the pupils occupying the previous Monday and Tuesday, and there will be an exhibition on the afternoon of Wednesday in the same week.

The exercises recommence on the second Monday in September.

Boarders are required to be furnished with the necessary table furniture, knives, forks, spoons and a tumbler, six towels, etc.

They must also be provided with bed and bedding; or if the above articles are supplied by the institution there will be an extra charge.

Boarders pay the amount of current prices, semiannually in advance.

Bills for medical attendance must be discharged by the parents or guardians.

TERMS: (For Boarders)

Tuition, embracing all the branches at the Academy, board and washing, per annum.....$100

Ink, quills, paper, use of maps and Globes etc. per annum..... 4

(For Day Scholars)

First Class: Spelling, reading and writing (in French or English) per quarter.....$ 3

One dollar in advance will be required for the first month of each quarter.

Second Class: Reading, writing, English or French Grammar, arithmetic and geography per quarter.....$ 4

One dollar in advance will be required for the first month of each quarter.

Third Class: Use of globes, astronomy, sacred and profane history, English composition, rhetoric and versification per quarter $ 5

One dollar and twenty-five cents will be required for the first month of each quarter.

Fourth Class: Mythology, ancient and modern Chronology, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Botany.
In this class great attention will be paid to perfect the pupils in the French language.
per quarter.....$ 6

Two dollars in advance will be required for the first month of each quarter.

(Extra Charges)

Drawing, painting on velvet and embroidery.....$ 5
Piano and use of instrument..... 15
Harp and its use..... 12
Guitar 6

Vocal music forms no separate charge

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS TO FATHER TIMON, C. M.*

I

(Original in French)

Kaskaskia, October 8th, 1835

Rev. Superior[1]

I just learned to-day that you have been named superior of the congregation of the Mission in this territory. Knowing how much you are interested in Kaskaskia I confidently write you these words and I hope that you can without difficulty grant the request that I am going to make. I very much desire to have a priest for Christmas in order that I may have midnight mass for my good sisters of the Visitation. If you absolutely cannot send me a priest to preach in English I beg of you send me anyone you can. I know that you can easily grant my request. Until I am able to pay my respects in person believe that I am always sincerely

Your most devoted friend
B. Roux[2]

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* The originals of these letters are in the Catholic Archives of America, Notre Dame University. Through the courtesy of the archivist, Rev. Thomas McAvoy, C. S. C., copies were made by Rev. Thomas F. Cleary, Ph. D., St. Thomas Church, Philo, Illinois, who has also prepared the accompanying notes. The letters have been copied verbatim without alteration of spelling or punctuation.

[1] The Very Rev. John Timon, to whom these letters were addressed, was for many years the Visitor-General of the Congregation of the Mission. As the headquarters of the priests of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians or Lazarists) was at the Barrens, Perry County, Mo., the letters are addressed variously to Father John Timon, Perry County, Perrysville, Mo., and to Father Timon, Vicar General and Superior of St. Mary's Seminary, and to Father Timon, President of St. Mary's college, Barrens, Perry County, Mo. To the old Seminary, the predecessor of the modern Kenrick Seminary, the church in Illinois is indebted for the training of many priests. The Seminary was moved to St. Louis in 1842.

Father John Timon was born in Conewago, New York, February 12, 1797. His father, a merchant, removed to the West late in 1818 and was established in St. Louis by 1819. Father Timon was ordained in 1825 as a priest of the Congregation of the Mission; he was appointed superior of the Vincentians November 6, 1835, was named Prefect Apostolic of Texas, April 12, 1840, and was promoted to the Episcopal See of Buffalo, September 5, 1847. He died at Buffalo April 6, 1867. Details of his episcopate may be found in *The Life and Times of Rt. Rev. John Timon, D. D.*, by Charles G. Deuther.

[2] Father Benedict Roux, the founder of the Church in Kansas City and vicinity, was sent to the diocese of St. Louis in 1831 by the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. Father Roux labored on the Missouri frontier from the autumn of 1833 until July 21, 1835, when he was appointed pastor of Kaskaskia to succeed Father Condamine, who was transferred to the northern part of Illinois. After 1844 Father Roux was at

II

(Original in French)

St. Louis, April 9, 1836

Sir

What sad news I have to give you! Mr. Condamine pastor of Cahokia has just died after a few days illness with bilious fever. He died yesterday at 5 P. M. We have suffered a great loss; which you will feel as keenly as his other confreres by whom he was equally loved and esteemed. I recommend his soul to your prayers and I hope that you will not fail to offer up for him the holy sacrifice of the mass. Kindly recommend him to the prayers of the community; of the Sisters and communicate this news to the other priests.

I am very sincerely
Sir.

Your very humble servant
✠ Joseph Bp. of St. Louis[3]

III

Kaskaskia, April 29, 1836

Dear Sir:

The remains of the worthy Senator, Mr. Kane, have been

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the cathedral in St. Louis. In 1846, according to the traditional account, he returned to France. See G. J. Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, Chicago, 1919.

[3] Bishop Joseph Rosati was born at Sora, in the kingdom of Naples, January 12, 1789. He joined the Lazarists at Rome where he was professed and ordained. He was a member of the band of priests which Bishop DuBourg sent to America, in 1815, under the direction of the Vincentian, Father Felix de Andreis. Rosati was named Coadjutor to Bishop DuBourg in 1823, and four years later (1827) became the first Bishop of the newly erected see of St. Louis. By a tacit understanding officially confirmed in 1832, the Bishop of Bardstown, Ky., permitted Bishop DuBourg, and after him Bishop Rosati, to administer the Church in Illinois. In 1834 about one third of the eastern part of Illinois passed under the authority of the see of Vincennes, but the western two thirds of Illinois remained under the direction of the see of St. Louis until the erection of the Chicago diocese in the latter part of 1843. Bishop Rosati died September 25, 1843, and was succeeded by his Coadjutor, Peter Richard Kenrick.

Father Mathew Condamine was named resident pastor of Kaskaskia in October, 1832, in which capacity he welcomed the Visitation Sisters in 1833. In July, 1835, he was succeeded by Father Benedict Roux as pastor of Kaskaskia and chaplain of the Visitation Academy. Father Condamine learned English from Bishop Rosati who said of him: "he does much good by his preaching." According to the local traditions, Father Condamine included Beardstown in his missionary visits.

brought up here this morning.[4] We wish to celebrate, for the rest of his soul, a funeral service the most solemnly we can. It will take place tomorrow morning about ten o'clock. If you send me here either Mr. Wiseman or Mr. Raho and a Seminarist altogether with deacon and subdeacon tunicks for this ceremony, you would oblige me not a little. I hope you will second my desires for the consolation of his distressed family and the good of the religion. The very Rev. P. Borgna intends to go tomorrow to the Seminary, but he has no vehicle.[5] Were you to send yours to him, very much pleased he would be. It is in his name I write you these last words. Believe dear Rev. Sir, I am alwais [*sic*]

Your most devoted friend,
B. Roux

IV

Kaskaskia, Aug. 31, 1836

Rev. and dear Br.

I write you immediately on Clems arrival to assure you of my extreme anxiety to get over, but I assure you that my weakness has not warranted my attempting it on horseback nor could I ride the horse sent me from the Barrens. I have however the promise of a conveyance tomorrow—if I cannot get a conveyance in a carriage I will avail myself of Mrs. Maxwell's offer of a horse and endeavor to be with you tomorrow.

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[4] Elias Kent Kane was born June 7, 1796. He was graduated from Yale college and read law in New York. In 1813 or 1814, he came as far west as Tennessee and late in 1814 was located at Kaskaskia, Illinois. His ability is attested by the fact that only four years after his arrival in Illinois he was appointed a judge of the territorial court by the President of the United States. He framed the first Constitution of the state of Illinois, was the first secretary of the State, and was serving a second term as United States Senator at the time of his death. Several Illinois histories give the date of Senator Kane's death as December 12, 1835. The letter making arrangements for the Senator's funeral is dated Kaskaskia, *April 29, 1836.*

[5] Rev. Philip Borgna was born at Saluzzo in Piedmont. He came to the United States with Father Cellini and Father Potini in October, 1818, reaching the Barrens July 5, 1819. He was ordained by Bishop DuBourg in St. Louis, March 19, 1820. Shortly afterward he was sent to the cathedral in New Orleans where he labored with Father Ferrari during the cholera epidemic. As the agent of Bishop DuBourg he went to Italy in 1823, and at Rome used his influence in favor of the appointment of Bishop Rosati as Coadjutor Bishop. In the fall of 1824, Father Borgna returned to the United States, was stationed for a few years at New Orleans and then was transferred to Missouri, where he became Vicar General of the diocese of St. Louis.

The Frs. Jesuits only gave me one letter which I forwarded this morning by your brother.

Be assured I have regretted very much my unavoidable absence particularly at this time.

I remain, Rev. and Dear Sir
affectionately yours
Joseph N. Wiseman[6]

V*

Kaskaskias Jan.y 6th 1840

Very Rev. and dear Sir

I was informed yesterday that last Saturday you left St. Genevieve for St. Louis, after having attempted to cross the Mississippi at the Kaskaskia ferry. It was my intention to leave this place to-day after having celebrated early the holy sacrifice, but I could not have a seat in the stage; consequently I must differ till next Wednesday. I hope I shall find you in St. Louis next Thursday. The Mississippi is frozen over at the Kaskaskia landing; and last Saturday I have with his [?] daughter walked over to this place. So that you will not be able to go down should you *now* take passage in a steamboat for New Orleans.

I have been busy here, and I thank God for having blessed my coming.

I am sincerely
Very Rev. and dear Sir

Your most aff.
✠ Joseph Bp. of St. Louis

VI

La Salle, February 7th 1840

Rev. Sir

The grace of our Lord be always with us.

Enclosed in this present you will find the answers to the questions of the council of the Propagation of Faith. I could not get through with them before this time, on account of many occupations. I hope that you will not forget to send Brother Aqualdo in this place early in the spring, according to your promise at your visit here. We, thank God, enjoy good health. Our Mr. Essany on New Year's day preached in English for the first

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[6] Father Joseph N. Wiseman, a secular priest.

* This letter is addressed to Father Timon "care of Rev. Jos. Lutz, St. Louis, Missouri."

time, and did very well. On Sunday next he will preach again. The people like his sermons, and manners. I will send him to stay in Ottawa for some time for to exercise himself in the English language, because Mr. John Byrn does no more attend it. But I do not know what will I do with Mr. Escossier. All the day round he is employed, and very busy in doing nothing, and I have received great complaints against his manner of preaching. We have intentions of masses for a month more. Please, if you have, to send me some as soon as possible.

My compliments to all our Brothers. Pray for me

Your Resp.

J. B. Raho P.[riest] of the Cong. of the Mission[7]

VII

LaSalle, LaSalle County
February 10, 1840.

Rd. Sir:

I received a letter from Mr. Allia, and another from my father in which they announce me a box of several objects of which I give you a list as follows

Books.	Ornaments	chasubles 5
Massillon v. 3.	amices 18	cope 1
Concordance of the Bible.	albs 3	large veil 1
Cormon v. 2.	corporals 7	curtains 3
Borgovini vol. 8.	Lavabo 6	beads more than 535
English Dictionary Vol. 2.	purificators 40	scapulars
Barozzi vol. 1.	cover for altar 1	crucifixes
Cesari vol. 1.	chalices 2	pictures
English Grammar vol. 1.	pixes 3	medals
French Dictionary vol. 1.	censer 1	1 box of sweet
Devoti[8]	navicula 1	fruits: a present of my mother's

[7] Work on the Illinois and Michigan canal began July 4, 1836, at Chicago and LaSalle. As a result, many Irish laborers settled at LaSalle and other points along the canal. At that time about two thirds of western Illinois was yet under the jurisdiction of Bishop Rosati of the diocese of St. Louis. The Irish contractor, William Byrne, secured the aid of the two Vincentian priests, Raho and Parodi. The ministrations of these two hard-working, pious Italian priests extended to about one third of the state of Illinois and included the counties of LaSalle, Lee, Bureau, Grundy, Henry, Knox, Stark, Putnam, Marshall, Peoria, Tazewell, McLean, Sangamon, Macoupin, and Cass. The parishes of Ottawa, Marseilles, Lacon, Virginia, Peoria, Kickapoo, Pekin, and Lourdes (called Black Partridge in the early days) are greatly indebted to these two pioneer apostles in Illinois.

[8] In the famous controversy between Father Hughes, later Archbishop

All these objects were paid out of the pocket of my father, and some other pious friends of mine, who privately gave money in order to relieve our poor mission of LaSalle, so that, I guess, you may safely understand that the said utensils were given for the poor mission of LaSalle and no other; likewise you may collect from what I remarked beforehand that the Propagation of the Faith did not give anything out of her funds in order to pay the said objects. I know the greatest part of them were paid by my father, and I know also how many efforts did my father make to give me the consoling thought of seeing our poor churches adorned in some way, so that I know in case he should notice of somebody that would appropriate to other purposes what was designed for our churches then he would never do anymore what he has done at this time, nor I would dare to ask him: hence if you should receive the said box, please to forward it to Mr. Walsh who will have the kindness to send it to me, that is what Mr. Raho told me to acquaint you with, and also he told me that if you would make any expenses for the said box to keep an account of them, and he will pay everything.

Besides: You will receive the sum of one hundred and five francs, which sum my relatives and friends paid Mr. Allia for my account, and Mr. Fiorillo or others from Paris will write you about it. Therefore should you receive them, I request you to pay them to Mr. Raho.

We are all well. Pray for me, whilst I remain

Your obedient servant,
Louis Parodi M. P., C. M.[9]

VIII

Alton, May 18th 1840

Rev. and Dr. sir—Yours of the 29 ult. come this moment to hand. In reply I have to state that I regret exceedingly that that note has not long since been settled. It appears to me

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Hughes, and the Presbyterian minister, John Breckinridge, a treatise on canon law is frequently referred to, viz., "Devoti."

[9] Father Louis Parodi, a member of the Congregation of the Mission, was assistant to Father J. B. Raho in the LaSalle mission. Father Aloysius John Mary Parodi, as his name is given elsewhere, was born in Genoa, Italy, 1811. He joined the Congregation of the Mission in the United States, December 5, 1835, and was ordained by Bishop Rosati at the Barrens in Missouri November 1, 1837. He was stationed at LaSalle from 1838 to 1846. Father Fiorillo was assistant general of the Congregation of the Mission at this time.

that I recollect distinctly having requested Mr. Odin to receive the money owing to me by my uncle and out of that to pay that note, and that I wrote at the same time to my Brother, requesting him to collect my money and pay it over to Mr. Odin. However, it is possible I may be mistaken: So I will write Uncle Leo Fenwick and request him to pay you immediately. I think I cannot at present raise the money here so as to pay it to Mr. Timon in St. Louis. You will please keep the note till it be paid. Should Uncle Leo refuse to pay it, you will be pleased to let me know, and I will come down immediately to attend to it.

With sincerest respect
Yours affectionately
George A. Hamilton[10]

IX

Quincy, May 26th, 1840

Very Rev. and Dr. sir

When I was at the sem. I spoke to you of a young man that apparently had a desire of joining the brotherhood. The present will be handed to you be the same. He can at least try for a certain time, and if you find him qualified to be useful to the institution it will be the best place for him. I think he would do well either in the garden, orchard, or on the farms.

Mr. Rogers would like to know if there is any charge for keeping him. I told him that I thought there was none when one intends becoming a member of the novitiate. However please write to me and let me know of this. If you could employ him at any kind of a trade he may succeed.

Once more I urge you to plead my case with Dr. (dear) Mother for the sisters. Excuse the haste in which I write, I am just called on a sick errand 50 miles and for the last 8 days

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[10] Father George A. Hamilton was born in Marion County, Ky., and came to Missouri about 1825. He entered the Seminary at the Barrens, Perry County, Mo., and in company with Hilary Tucker was sent to complete his theological studies to Rome. After his ordination, he was appointed to the Springfield district and Sangamon county, Illinois (1838). After he was appointed pastor of Alton, April 18, 1840, his work in the Springfield district was carried on by Vincentian priests. On February 20, 1842, Bishop Kenrick, Coadjutor to Bishop Rosati, transferred Father Hamilton to the St. Louis cathedral. On May 1, 1847, Father Hamilton wrote a letter stating that he was going to visit his sister in the East; he never returned to Illinois; he died as pastor of St. Francis de Sales parish in Charlestown, Mass., July, 1874. The church was wholly inadequate for the mourners; the funeral sermon was preached by Bishop Lynch of Charlestown, S. C.

I have been riding all the time and have travelled a distance of 400 miles in that space. I think I shall be run down this summer—farewell, pray for your most obedient

H. Tucker[11]

X

La Salle, Sept. 13, 1840.

Rev. Sir:

The grace of our Lord be always with us. I hurry to answer your letter of the 1st inst., received this morning. I will exert myself the best I can for to settle with Mr. Martin. I would be very thankful to your kindness, if you would speak to the Right Rev. Bishop of Vincennes, about the chalice, which was in the possession of the Rev. Mr. O'Mara [O'Meara], and Property of the Right Rev. Bishop Rosati, and donated to the church of La Salle. I wrote several times to the above mentioned Rev. Gentliman, and I got no answer. I fear that it is gone. At any rate if you think proper, you may propose this subject to the Right Rev. Bishop of Vincennes.

I have visited Oregon City. I have no time at present to give you particular, and precise details of that very beautiful and charming country of Rock River. I reserve to do this at more leisure times. I say only that I have administered the Holy Sacrament of Baptism to two converts, and 5 others are preparing themselves for the next visit. To-day another convert of this Parish has received the Holy Baptism, and another has commenced to instruct himself under my direction, and in three weeks, I hope, he will be regenerated. The adjuration of a Lutheran also has been received by me. God be blessed.

Our Mr. De Marchi has been very sick with bilious fever. He is some better now, and he would had been well, if he had followed the directions of the Doctor. Indeed his health is not calculated for this Mission, and I think that he never will be strong enough for the duties of the Ministry. I fear that the

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[11] Father Hilary Tucker, a grandson of the founder of Catholicity in Perry County, Mo., completed his theological studies in Rome in company with his friend, Father George Hamilton; after his ordination, he organized the first English-speaking parish in Quincy. Father Tucker was a zealous advocate of temperance and Catholic education. From 1846 until his death in Boston at the cathedral March 15, 1872, Father Tucker was associated with the Church in Massachusetts.

winter of this place will be very severe for him. I would be sorry if he were removed, but for his health I think it is necessary. What after we will do here, I do not know. I leave it to God, and to you.

I direct this letter to Vincennes, because I suppose that it will be to [*sic*] late to reach you in Barstown [Bardstown].

Pray for me. I am in hurry
Yours respectfully
Most obed. and humble serv.
J. B. Raho P. of the C. of the Mission

XI

La Salle County, La Salle October
the 10th 1840.

Rd. Sir

I expect you were informed by Mr. Raho of the mishap that our Mr. De Marchi was visited with. He was, and he is still at present attended by the two best doctors that can be found in our country, however he is not gaining any; he is always unwell. This indeed strikes me very much, and so much that I inquired of the Doctor how it was that he could not gain any strength; then the Doctor told me that Mr. De Marchi is badly affected in his liver, that it is hard to cure him; besides: continues the Doctor: Mr. De Marchi if he recovered should leave this country if he want to live longer. My dear friend, you know very well that the country we live in is unhealthy, and even those that enjoy good health, and strong constitution still are liable to get heavy sickness, how will it be then for a man that has got poor health, and a very weak constitution? Consequently, what use is there to send such persons when to live in this country is for them the same as to shorten their days? Though Mr. De Marchi might complain of not having good attendance, still I can affirm that if he do, he is wrong, since we done our best for him, therefore he should complain unjustly.

Mr. Martin requested me to let you know that he wishes to have his son John in the College for this year again, and as Mr. Martin is going to leave this state for some time, then Mrs. Martin engaged herself to pay me by degrees the amount of money which is due to you.

I have nothing else at present. Mr. Raho is well, and I also

remind me to all our brethern and all the clergymen of the Seminary, whilst with all respects I am

Your most Obdt
Louis Parodi O. P. of M. [Order of
the Priests of the Mission or C. M.]

XII*

Peoria, 4th December, 1843

Revd. Sir:

I was in hopes to see you, when during the second week of last month I was in St. Louis. But I was disappointed, and this disappointment has grieved me very much, as I have many things to communicate to you, which I cannot do by letter. In your last, dated from Paris, you told me that shortly you would return home, and this determined me to come to St. Louis at the time I did. Please to answer me as soon as you receive this letter. We will commence the spiritual retreat on the 7th of this month. On the 17th I will start for St. Augustin [this parish in the Peoria diocese is now in charge of the Rev. Thomas McKinnery]; then to Fountaingreen [*sic*], so that I cannot be back to Peoria before the 18th or 19th of February.

Among the many things that I have to tell you, one is, that I have already written to our Superior General, to grant me the permission to return to Europe, and for this, I wrote to our Rev. Mr. Fiorillo, requesting him to accept me in the province, from which I came to America. It is not because I am tired working for the glory of God, and salvation of souls, but because my heart is broken. My dear Father, Friend, and Brother, I cannot stand any longer. I want to open my heart to you, and trust myself in your hands.

Pray for me. I am with respect, and esteem

Your most obedient
J. B. Raho C. M.

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* This letter is addressed to "Rev. Mr. J. Timon, Cathedral of St. Louis, Mo."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Jesuits and Education. By Reverend William J. McGucken, S. J., Ph. D. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1932, pp. xxv+352, $4.00.

This volume ranks with the authoritative works of Father James A. Burns, C. S. C., the historian of Catholic education, and will unquestionably be rated as the outstanding contribution to the history of Catholic education during the present decade. But it is more than an historical treatise (of which there cannot be too many in these days when opportunism makes chameleons of educators); it is a fascinating account of the teaching principles and practice of the Society of Jesus, especially in secondary education in the United States. Since no other single organization has under its immediate control so many high school students, there is a real need for an authoritative discussion of the Jesuit contribution to the field. Again, the commanding position occupied by American Jesuits in the field of education, caring for over 35,000 students in universities, colleges and secondary schools, or approximately one-third of the total number of students enrolled in Jesuit schools throughout the world, with only 20 per cent of the personnel of the entire Order, makes still more imperative the need for an historical discussion of Jesuit educational foundations in the United States; for it still remains true that, "to understand a great movement in the world of thought or action, it is usually necessary to approach it on its historic side."

In commendable fashion, the author combines an interesting discussion of the origins of Jesuit pedagogy in the sixteenth century with an account of the framing of the *Ratio Studiorum,* "the soul of Jesuit pedagogy," and the general characteristics of this plan of studies as it was applied in the Jesuit schools of the sixteenth and two succeeding centuries. It is an easy transition then to a scholarly delineation of the evolution of the typical American Jesuit high school, showing how pioneer conditions, the spirit of practicality, Jesuit devotion to the classics, standardization and other factors gave rise to numerous conflicts which finally brought about American deviation from a literal interpretation of the *Ratio,* and the separation of the high school from the college, without sacrificing the characteristic Jesuit spirit in either its objective or its method. But influences other than the clamorous demands of patrons interested in

things rather than *ideas* were at work shaping the destiny of the American Jesuit high school, such as the different educational traditions of the English, French, Italian and German Jesuits, who found it difficult at first to sympathize with the aspirations of American parents and introduce certain adaptations needed to care for the significant changes taking place in American education. In fact, these differences in outlook would have seriously impeded the development of the program but for a powerful force which was constantly working for unification; namely, the traditional Jesuit system of teaching.

So, despite external conformity, the same spirit is found in American schools that animated Jesuit education in the past; namely, unwavering and unstinted devotion to the religious ideal in education; for the primary objective and the distinctive *ethos* of the Jesuit school is still "the formation of the Christian citizen, obedient to the laws of God and the laws of the Church, obedient also to the laws of the State."

The book reflects the first-hand contacts of the author with original sources both in Europe and the United States, lengthy quotations being introduced from the *Woodstock Letters,* committee reports, courses of study and catalogs, and unpublished documents of the Jesuit archives at Georgetown and St. Louis. The volume maintains the high standard set by others in the *Science and Culture Series* in binding, printing and editing. The extensive and selective bibliography, numerous charts, maps and copious footnotes add greatly to the value of the publication. A unique feature of the volume is the inclusion of a translation of the sections of the 1832 *Ratio* dealing with secondary education, the only English translation now in print. It should find a place on the reference shelf in public libraries and no Catholic library will be complete without it. Let us hope that it represents only the initial effort of one gifted with "mellow and generous scholarship," for Catholic education is sorely in need of historians.

FRANCIS M. CROWLEY, PH. D.

St. Louis University

The Voyageur. By Grace Lee Nute. Illustrations by Carl W. Bertsch. New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1931, viii+289, $3.00.

In her preface the author states her purpose of trying to do justice to the memory of the voyageur for the romance and color

he has lent to American and Canadian history and for the services he rendered in the exploration of the West. This promise has been fully implemented. While the term voyaguer was applied originally in Canadian history to all explorers, fur traders, and travellers, it came in time to be restricted to the men who operated the canoes and batteaux of the fur traders. The author restricts the term to the French Canadian canoemen. In the hamlets and towns along the St. Lawrence they grew to manhood with the hope and ambition of joining the daring and hardy band of voyageurs. They prayed that they should not grow too much; for a stature even five inches short of six feet would rule them out of the canoes where room was precious.

With dress, customs, traditions and songs all their own. inured from childhood to strenuous labor at the paddle or on the portage, the voyageurs pushed the frontier of trade and civilization westward up the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa; into all the Great Lakes, and into all the rivers that feed them; to the headwaters of the Mississippi; by way of Rainy Lake to Lake Winnipeg and far up the Saskatchewan. Finally, and surprisingly early, they launched their canoes on the rivers that flow to the Arctic and those that roll through rapids and savage gorges to the Pacific and the setting sun.

Their work, developed first under the French regime, found its highest degree of extension between 1763 and 1840. The Northwest Fur Company with headquarters in Montreal, the Southwest Company and, finally, the American Fur Company, chartered by Astor in 1808, all depended upon the voyageurs. When the Hudson Bay Company found its trade threatened by its rivals and recognized its need of great expansion into the interior it called in the aid of the voyageur. The Red River Settlement, later on to develop into the Province of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg, was first founded by this company as a home and retiring place for the voyageur servants of the company, whose children should furnish it with new recruits.

In a number of interesting separate chapters the author draws a portrait of the voyageur and of his canoe, describes his manner of travelling and the songs with which he beguiled the fatigue of the way. Other chapters, well documented, give an excellent idea of his life during winter at an inland fort, of his life as a soldier, in which capacity he achieved no record for perfection in the military code, but had his strong points otherwise.

As the frontier moved westward the voyageur became the first settler in such places as Sault Ste. Marie, Chicago, Milwaukee, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, St. Paul and Winnipeg.

The explorations of the men who gave their names to the Mackenzie, the Fraser and other rivers of the North and West were made possible only by the herculean labors and incredible hardships of the voyageurs. It is pleasant to note, also, their very great services in the cause of the missions at the various posts and their aid in the development of Catholic life in the remote Red River Settlement.

The gay-hearted voyageur, now a well-nigh forgotten figure, lives again in this most readable and scholarly book. His faults are not extenuated, but naught is set down in malice.

JAMES I. SHANNON, S. J., A. M.
St. Louis University

A Short History of the Popes Based on the Latest Researches. By Prof. Francis X. Seppelt, D. D., and Prof. Clement Löffler, Ph. D. Authorized adaptation from the German, by Horace A. Frommelt. Edited by Arthur Preuss. St. Louis, Herder Book Company, 1932, $5.00.

It was a happy inspiration that impelled Professor Frommelt of Marquette University to render into English this single volume history of the Popes; and it must be added that the adaptation has been excellently achieved. There is a marked absence of that untempered literalism which has marred so many translations from the German. As things now are this must be reckoned the most readable and reliable short history of the Popes available in English.

The work is rather a chronicle of selected details than a synthetic study of papal history. In its 552 pages it compresses the stories of the two hundred and sixty Popes from St. Peter to Piux XI, allotting 47 pages to the first 65 Popes, 63 pages to the following 65 Popes, 97 to the next group, and no fewer than 345 pages to the last 65. Something quite definite is said about most of the Popes; but inevitably the larger outlines are blurred, the sweep of organic development is but faintly perceived, the perspective is somewhat arbitrary. However interesting and detailed the history of the more recent Popes may be, many a reader will regret that St. Peter, the first and most important of all the Popes, has to be dispatched in less than a page, and

St. Clement in a single sentence, while some of the early Popes are left unmentioned.

There is a tone of frank criticism of some of the darker sides of papal history. Such a tone in the monumental works of Grisar, Mann and Pastor, where the evidence is presented in full and in a context, is of course wholly justifiable; but the habit is not without danger in a work like this. Such a statement as this that "most historians now agree that Liberius sacrificed Athanasius . . . and accepted the so-called third Sirmian formula" is surely over confident in the present state of the Liberius question. Far more hard to justify on any evidence save that of pamphlet propaganda is such a statement as this concerning the Society of Jesus at the time of the Suppression: "Nor can it be denied that the growing wealth of the Society had brought about an abatement of its pristine fervor, and its participation in various forms of business occasioned much unfavorable criticism."

It is to be regretted that the venerable *cliché* concerning the intentions of Charles IV in the "Golden Bull" should be repeated in impartial history. "The Pope is never mentioned, and there can hardly be a doubt that this silence must be interpreted as a rejection of his right to confirm the election." This is baseless apriorism as Zeumer has long since shown.

GERALD G. WALSH, S. J., A. M.

Woodstock College
Woodstock, Maryland

Principles of Social Science. A Survey of Problems in American Democracy. By Thames Ross Williamson and Edgar Bruce Wesley. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, $1.60.

The distinctive characteristic of this book is that it attempts to present the subjects of the social sciences in a form that will induce the students of secondary schools and colleges to look upon the subjects as problems to be solved. The book is divided into five parts. Part One contains the approach to problems. The meaning of "Problem," as understood by the authors, is explained and various illustrative problems are presented. Among them is that involving civilized society, the meaning of which is suggestively treated. Part Two deals with American economic problems. This section is a short discussion of economic principles. Of particular interest at the present time is

the chapter on banking and credit. The functions of banks are explained, and special attention is given the Federal Reserve System. The problem, namely, the elasticity of currency, is presented clearly and the students can hardly fail to obtain some accurate knowledge of the reason why the System plays an important part in our present economic life. Part Three takes up American social problems. The difference between the medieval and modern types of family is set forth clearly. The authors note the present lack of preparation for home making and consider it one of the causes of the evident deterioration of family life. Individualism, they believe, has been exaggerated and is responsible for many of the evils afflicting the family life of the nation. A paragraph, that might be a little longer, is given to an exposition of the fact that law is not the ultimate remedy for family instability.

In Part Four American political problems are discussed. This explains briefly the working of federal, state, and municipal governments, and presents some of the problems that thinking people must face. A chapter is very properly given to "Honesty and Efficiency in Office." Part Five considers "General Problems." These are immigration, crime, government and business, taxation, the tariff and international relations. The chapter on the tariff might have been presented more effectively as a problem if the character and the consequences of the present extraordinary Revenue Bill had been discussed more fully.

At the end of the book are a glossary, that will be most useful to the student, a bibliography of easily procurable books, the Constitution and the Covenant of the League of Nations. There are also many illustrations.

At the end of every chapter are a number of problems. These are the distinctive feature of the book. They have been selected with great care and judgment. The authors call attention to the fact that many of the problems cannot be satisfactorily solved, but they are problems nevertheless that are constantly appearing, and perhaps if the trained minds of the country be directed to them more attentively than formerly at least more satisfactory solutions may be worked out.

Teachers will find the book useful in their efforts to induce their pupils to think intelligently about the subjects discussed at home and in the newspapers. Attached to every problem is a suggestion of the method that should or might be followed

in considering the subject. This will aid the student and be of assistance also to the teacher.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN, S. T. B., J. D.

Loyola University
Chicago, Illinois

L'Expedition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique (1684-1687). Par Le Baron Marc de Villiers. Adrien-Maisonneuve, 5, Rue de Tournon, Paris, 1931, pp. 239, 80 fr.

The adventures of La Salle seem to have a perennial quality about them which has enabled them to blossom forth in a constant series of biographies ever since Margry, by his research work in the middle of the last century, brought such prominence to the adventurer. With so much attention focused on the short career of one man, there would not seem to be much possibility of contributing new material to what is already known about the eccentric genius. Such a contribution has been made, however, in the scientific research work of Baron Marc de Villiers set forth in the volume under consideration. The Baron, noted for his many learned studies in the early history of the Mississippi Valley, centers his discussions round three points: the character of La Salle, the exact route of the expedition of 1684, and the disaster which overtook the colonists who were left at Matagorda Bay when their leader deserted them in 1687. With regard to all three topics some rather startling data have been brought to light. It is because the author's findings throw a decidedly new light on many of the accepted theories concerning La Salle that the present book is entitled to a distinction hardly deserved by other recent publications on the same topic. This book is a real contribution to knowledge.

Resting his conclusions on documents from French archives, some of them unpublished, others heretofore incorrectly translated, or transcribed, the author characterizes La Salle as careless (p. 23), an ambitious schemer (p. 31), a visionary (p. 45), with a pride which made him excessively sensitive (p. 92), and with a tendency to misstatement "which could not be involuntary" (pp. 46 and 93), as a conquistador born a hundred and fifty years too late (pp. 152-153), and finally points to many circumstances which suggest that he may have been mentally unbalanced at the time of his last expedition (pp. 177-178). Conclusions so at variance with previous characterizations of the

man render it desirable to find a reason for the existence of the idealized La Salle. De Villiers suggests that at the time when the La Salle legend began, anti-Jesuit bias made certain historians favor him because they seemed to find in him an inclination toward the reformed religion which they could not find in any of his contemporary explorers of the West.

With regard to the deductions about the exact course of the expedition of 1684 the author has left little room for discussion. He proceeds to his task like a detective tracing his clues and arrays his findings in such a convincing manner that little is left to be said on the subject. He explodes the old theory that La Salle passed a short distance south of the mouth of the Mississippi, and demonstrates that he was fifteen miles west of this point when his line of travel from San Domingo first touched the North American continent (pp. 70-71). All his later wanderings were along the coast of the present states of Louisiana and Texas or into the interior. This part of the book is perhaps the most interesting and a splendid piece of historical criticism.

The last topic treated in the monograph begins on page 155 and deals with the fate of those who were left behind when La Salle started on his fatal trip northward in 1687. Here again the author's sources are documents little known to historians and the conclusions are enlightening.

A few misspelled names and transpositions of letters are found (e. g., p. 104), while the English translation on page 150 is unintelligible. The maps are excellent.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON, S. J., PH. D.
Marquette University

The Veil Is Lifted. By Rev. Joseph B. Code. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, pp. 161, $1.25.

Under this symbolical title are described the lives of sixteen women, foundresses of religious orders and educational institutions in North America. Written in a vivid and dramatic style, this book, an abridgment of *Great American Foundresses* by the same author, and a valuable contribution to American church history, is addressed to the students of our Catholic colleges and high schools. They will find in it splendid examples of courage and determination, strengthened by religion and patriotism and unaffected by humiliations, neglect or abandon-

ment. No book will do more to eradicate the too prevalent perverted sense of moral values and offer to the reader's consideration sublime examples of charity and abnegation. Father Code is to be congratulated not only for his selections but also for his method of presentation; each chapter provides a wholesome ten-minute reading and is followed by a list of books to be used as supplementary reading. The book is well edited and illustrated with portraits. Of special interest also is Father Sheen's introduction in which he says: "In this book Father Code has not raised the bars to let in the world, but he has lifted the veil to let some of the goodness of the nuns shine upon the children of men."

PAUL A. BARRETTE, A. M.

St. Louis University

The Old World's Gifts to the New. By Sister Mary Celeste. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. 497.

Sister Mary Celeste is already favorably known to the teachers of our Catholic schools for her *American History* and *Practice Tests in American History. The Old World's Gifts to the New* gives further evidence of the author's happy facility of presenting the latest results of scholarly research in the restrained garb of the best of the newer pedagogical findings. Writing for students of the elementary grades, Sister Celeste has succeeded in turning into a style and language suitable for immature minds the story of the outstanding epochs in world history. Within the nine *units* into which the volume is divided the story of human development is traced from the ancient world empires to the settlement and colonization of America, particular attention being paid to the contributions of the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans and the Germanic tribes, the work of the Church in medieval and modern times, the era of the Renaissance and of the Protestant Revolt and the opening of the New World. Throughout the lives of the people and the motives and ideals actuating their activities are stressed rather than the mere skeleton of political events.

As was to be expected, the religious factors in man's history have been accorded their rightful place throughout the work, and particular praise should be awarded for the admirable manner in which the author has succeeded in recounting the story of prehistoric peoples,—a story resting very largely upon the

evidence of archaeology. Aids for teaching may be found at the end of each *unit*.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, A. M.

St. Louis University

Westward to the Pacific. By Marion G. Clark. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932, xii+498.

It promises well for the better appreciation of American history among school children that writers are turning their attention to passing on to students of elementary and secondary schools the findings of the new school of historians of the West. The present volume, of which only about one half is concerned directly with the series of events indicated by its title, traces the westward advance of settlement from the Atlantic coastal plain to the shores of the Pacific. While the trend of political events is not neglected, the chief merit of the work in the mind of the reviewer rests in the extensive treatment of the economic and social life of the expanding frontier. The lives of the plain and common citizenry rather than the doings of statesmen and politicians appeal to the interest of the growing scholar, and more works of this type would tend to remove the cause of the unhappy memory of an unpleasant task unwillingly performed, which is too often all that remains in later years of schoolday courses in history.

It would be ungracious to seek in a school text that precision of scholarship characteristic of the special monograph. The present work is in general reasonably free of misstatements of fact and of glaring errors of proportion. One matter however cannot be passed over in silence. Recounting the visit of the Indian delegation from the Northwest to St. Louis in 1831, the author quite definitely states that they came seeking a Bible and a missionary. Nothing is even hinted concerning the rather late origin of the story that the Bible was the object of their quest, and not a word is said of the circumstance that two of the three Indians died in St. Louis after having received Catholic baptism. Is is possible that the author is unacquainted with the extensive literature treating of the visit of that delegation and of the purpose of their visit? Again, the activities of Dr. Marcus Whitman and of Henry Spalding are recounted at some length but the equally difficult and more extensive labors of De Smet, Point and other missionary priests are not considered. It is indeed regrettable that the minds of children should be made

the victims of another legend of error akin to so many which even yet color so much of our teaching of history.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, A. M.

St. Louis University

Whence the Black Irish of Jamaica: A West Indian Study. By Joseph J. Williams, S. J., Ph. D., Litt. D. New York, Dial Press, 1932, pp. 97, $2.00.

A splendid collection of facts on the treatment of the Irish people during the Cromwellian rule has been gathered in Father Joseph J. William's interesting study, *Whence the 'Black Irish' of Jamaica?* The author, who spent several years on the missions in the West Indies, was led to this interesting study by the prevalence of Irish names even "among the darkest of the negroes who clearly trace their ancestry back to the earliest slaves from Africa."

Thirty-three pages are filled with authentic quotations from various authors and manuscript sources which reveal with startling evidence the ruthlessness and brutality of the Lord Protector in his treatment of his Irish subjects. The second part of the book deals with the numbers and condition of the Irish people in servitude in Barbados, while the early history of the Catholic Church in Barbados is also briefly told. In the third part we are told of the conquest of Jamaica by the forces of Admiral Penn and of the servitude to which the Irish people were there subjected. "That the bondage of the Irish servant in Jamaica was no whit lighter than . . . in Barbados is evidenced by the earliest legal documents in the island." These things were going on in the West Indies in the latter half of the seventeenth century at the time when our own colonies were struggling for their existence.

One easily realizes the importance of Father Williams's study to the historian of the Irish people and of the British West Indies.

F. A. FLANNERY, S. J.

St. Louis University

Historical Records and Studies. Edited by Thomas F. Meehan. The United States Historical Society, New York, 1932, Vol. XXI, pp. 225.

This annual publication of the United States Catholic Historical Society contains six historical papers, the report of the

general meeting, notes and comments, and the membership list.

Father Patrick J. Healy contributes a timely article, "Contemporary American Protestantism," emphasizing the American idea of Protestantism in its antagonism to the Pope and Rome whether it be in an organized denominational group or among unaffiliated individuals. A detailed account of Cardinal Hayes's visit to San Antonio's bi-centennial celebration (in March, 1931) of its founding is given by Percy J. King. Historical references to the Catholic background of San Antonio and Texas link the present with the past. A master's thesis is presented by Father Donald C. Shearer, O. M. Cap., on Ignatius Cardinal Persico, O. M. Cap., the papal diplomat. Footnotes, an appendix and a bibliography complete the work. Henry Watts writes interestingly of Goshenhoppen, an early Jesuit foundation in Pennsylvania. Another master's thesis "Pioneer Capuchin Missionaries in the United States (1784-1816)" is given by Reverend Norbert H. Milko, O. M. Cap. George O'Dwyer is the author of "Lowell's First Catholic Schools" the last of the historical articles in the volume.

A brief report is made of the annual general meeting of the Society on May 4, 1931, at the Catholic Club. Under "Notes and Comments" are a document on Giovanni Battista Sartori, who was papal Consul in the United States during the early years of the last century, data on early Catholicity in Brooklyn, New York, and an historical evaluation of the "Record of Baptisms, St. John's Church, 1833-1851," Trenton, New Jersey.

The honorary president of the Society is Cardinal Hayes, the active president being Percy J. King. The membership list shows about three hundred names.

Praise must be given to Mr. Meehan and the Society for these valuable historical studies on Catholic activities in the United States. The effort to be accurate and thorough is especially to be commended.

GEORGE FRANCIS DONOVAN, PH. D.
Webster College
Webster Groves, Missouri

De Historia Missionum Soc. Jesu Commentarius Bibliographicus. Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu. Rome, I, 1932.

This forty-two page brochure is a reprint of the bibliographical section of the current number of the *Archivum Historicum*

Societatis Jesu. If justification for its separate appearance were needed, it would be found in the wide appeal it will have and in its practical utility. The field covered is the far-flung battle line of the Society; the reviews and comments are written by Jesuit historians from the four corners of the world. English, French, German, Spanish and Latin are used indifferently as the subject or the convenience of the writer demands. The alertness of the editor, Father Leturia, as well as the critical character of the *Archivum* give an added assurance of authority—if, indeed, such were needed, in the case of any of those who sign the reviews. All in all, this is a unique and valuable collection. When there is chaff among the wheat, we are plainly told so. An objective estimate, and not mere laudation, characterizes each article. The scholar or research student will welcome the periodical issue of these bibliographies. They will also interest the layman.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN, S. J., Ph. D.

St. Louis University
St. Louis, Mo.

Contributors to This Issue

Hugh Graham, Ph. D., of the Department of Education, John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio, is the author of various monographs on the history of education.

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